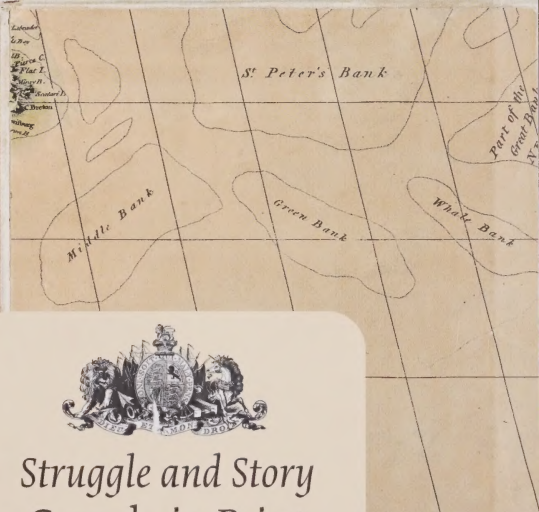
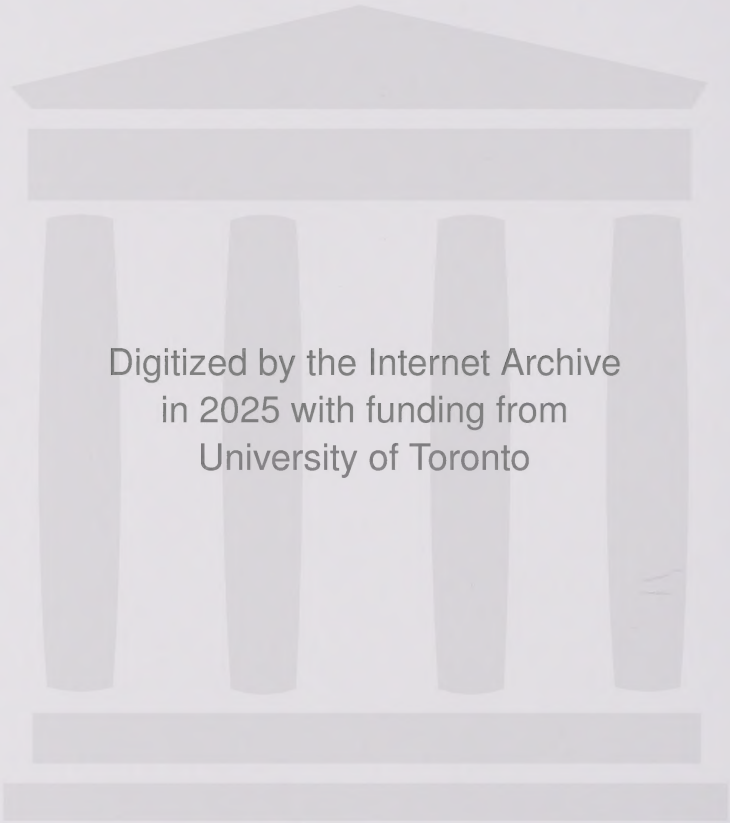


Struggle and Story
Canada in Print

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library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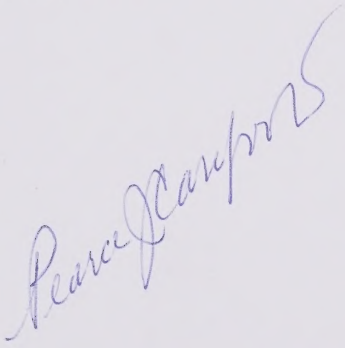
Struggle and Story: Canada in Print

Exhibition and catalogue by Pearce J. Carefoote.

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

20 March – 9 September 2017



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Introduction

Pearce Carefoote's fascinating exhibition, *Struggle & Story: Canada in Print*, highlights the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library's comprehensive holdings of Canadiana – a collection that spans the history of Canadian exploration, politics, science, medicine, publishing, and immigration. The exhibition itself underlines the value of Canada's documentary heritage and the vital role of libraries and archives in its preservation.

Early efforts to preserve Canada's history were gradual and haphazard. Our first learned society was the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, established in 1824, during the infancy of the colony's cultural and intellectual development. The Society collected historical documents pertaining to the region and published many rare manuscripts. In 1857, Nova Scotia became the first British North American jurisdiction to appoint a commissioner of public records, an office that recognized both the historical and administrative importance of the preservation of government records. Ten years later, Canadian Confederation created an urgency to organize such records in one central location, while simultaneously fostering the impulse to inspire the new nation with tales from its past. It was believed that historical documents would stir patriotic feeling and create a sense of national identity. As a result, the Dominion Archives of Canada was founded in 1872 with Douglas Brymner (1823-1902) as the first Dominion Archivist.

Today, as Canada marks its sesquicentennial, there are over fourteen hundred public libraries, archives, and museums mandated with preserving our documentary heritage. These institutions serve as windows to our past. The historical materials stored in them are a direct connection with those who have gone before us. Original letters and diaries give life and identity to those who created them. They enable one generation to speak to another and, in doing so, provide much-needed insight into the past. Indeed, esteemed former Dominion Archivist, Sir Arthur Doughty (1860-1936), referred to them as the most precious of national assets, the gift of one generation to another.

Further, by ensuring preservation, authenticity, and access to their historic holdings, libraries and archives help guarantee government transparency and accountability. Historical records, for example, have been vital for initiating formal apologies for past mistreatment of Canadians of Japanese, Chinese, and Ukrainian origin. Archives, in particular, have been instrumental in supporting inquiries into the wrongs done against Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Our documentary heritage, therefore, has the power to shape contemporary Canadian society.

I wish to thank Pearce Carefoote for this remarkable exhibition and catalogue. It is also a pleasure and a privilege to acknowledge the support of Mark Andrews for this catalogue, and the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library for this exhibition. And above all, we are most grateful to past generations of librarians and archivists for carefully collecting and preserving our collective memory. Happy sesquicentennial, Canada!

Loryl MacDonald,
Interim Director,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,
University of Toronto

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COME TO STAY.

Foreword

To tell the story of our history as a nation up to the time of the centennial celebrations in 1967 within the confines of the Fisher exhibition space is a daunting challenge. Our sesquicentennial may have only begun to loom large in the consciousness of Canadians recently, but the exhibition's curator, Pearce Carefoote, enthusiastically embraced this challenge almost from the time he first joined the staff in 2002. His approach to the task has been continuously refined ever since and has resulted in this superb exhibition and catalogue documenting our progress to nationhood through the overall theme of struggle – military, political, economic, social, and cultural. It is a tribute to the strength of our collections that he was able to tell this complex story by drawing exclusively on the holdings of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, including both the department of rare books and the University archives. The Media Commons archival holdings would furnish a great deal of additional relevant material if space had allowed, and media content will be featured on the UTL website and social media throughout the course of the exhibition.

Historical and literary Canadiana have always been a major focus of collecting for the University of Toronto Library, even predating the establishment of special collections as a separate department in 1950. Indeed, our city is blessed with extraordinary resources in this area because the Toronto Public Library has also had a longstanding commitment to collect scarce and important works of Canadiana, which are now housed in their newly renovated special collections department in the main reference library at Yonge and Bloor. The Fisher exhibition will no doubt be one of dozens if not hundreds of exhibitions celebrating our nation held throughout the country during 2017. What sets this one apart in addition to the deep knowledge of the curator is, I believe, the scope of the material on display, as well as the preponderance of unique items not available elsewhere. Of the ninety-two numbered entries in the catalogue, twenty-seven are manuscripts, and several others are unique printed works with no or very few other copies known. The manuscripts on display include journals of explorers such as Owen Stanley, David Thompson and the Tyrrell brothers and contain drawings, maps, and photographs in addition to the handwritten texts. Contemporary accounts of key events in our history range from General James Wolfe's letters home to his parents, through Alan MacNab's journals and papers recording events surrounding the 1837 rebellion to World War I diaries. Petitions, account books, and personal family correspondence are also on display, providing a unique window through the eyes of an individual into the everyday life of the time.

Many of the printed items also have unique aspects due to their scarcity or provenance. Two broadsides, the first dating to the introduction of printing in 1752 and the second taking us right up to Confederation in 1867 are prime examples. The modest printed blank form documenting

stock available through the firm of Nathans and Hart in Halifax is one of the earliest items issued by the first printer in Canada, with the only other known example held in the United States. Our copy of a large official broadside intended for posting in public places appears to be the only surviving example in Canada of the royal proclamation of Confederation ordered to be distributed throughout Great Britain. Items with truly outstanding provenance include Wolfe's own copy of Gray's *Elegy*, which he had with him on the eve of the battle for Quebec, Alexander Mackenzie's presentation copy of his *Voyages* to the Hudson's Bay Company, the David Thompson papers acquired by J.B. Tyrrell, Joey Smallwood's copy of Whitbourne's 1620 book on Newfoundland, and William Lyon Mackenzie's annotated copy of the 1836 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada*.

In preparation for the sesquicentennial celebrations we have been actively and strategically enhancing our Canadiana holdings in order to support the Fisher exhibition. Twenty-five percent of the items on display, including the two broadsides mentioned above, have been purchased within the past half dozen years. The most significant of these is of course the personal correspondence of James Wolfe, acquired through the generosity of Helmhorst Investments with additional support from Canadian Heritage and UTL. This, and many of the other items on display, are truly iconic national treasures, and it is our hope that large numbers of Canadians will have the opportunity to view them in person during the extended run of the exhibition, from March through September 2017, and through our web and social media outreach.

One of my favourite passages from the Wolfe correspondence, which is also on display in the exhibition, dates to shortly after the siege of Louisbourg when Wolfe takes a step back from the day to day and ruminates on the future of the British colonies: 'This will some time hence be a vast empire, the seat of power & learning ... They have all the materials ready, nature has refus'd 'em nothing.' The gradual movement towards that goal has been eloquently documented in this exhibition and catalogue. Canada's centennial celebrations in 1967, particularly the experience of hosting Expo 67, was one of the first occasions when nationalism, in the best sense of the word as in pride in our nation, came overtly to the surface among a large segment of our population. P.J. Carefoote quotes Pierre Berton characterizing the feeling of 'unabashed' nationalism as surprising and unexpected. Many of us baby boomers, who were often first or second generation hyphenated Canadians, felt it then as well. Lester Pearson described the events of 1967 as marking 'a glorious page in our history'. It is to be hoped that the 2017 celebrations taking place across the country from coast to coast to coast will be inspiring to new generations of Canadians, as we together explore our past, our present and our future.

Anne Dondertman
Retired Director
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

STRUGGLE & STORY: CANADA IN PRINT

The British North America Act, the document that provided the constitutional structure for the new Dominion of Canada, was passed by the Parliament of United Kingdom and given Royal Assent by Queen Victoria on 22 March, exactly 150 years ago. It is not as evocative a document as *Magna Carta*, nor does it contain the lofty prose of the American Declaration of Independence. It is a prosaic piece of legal writing, crafted by relatively conservative French Catholics and stolid English Protestants who saw in their union the advantages of 'peace, order, and good government'. Like those it would govern, it might best be described as unassuming. Concealed in its cautious language, however, are almost three hundred years of struggle to become a people. The documents in this exhibition – manuscripts, printed books, engravings, and photographs – tell the story behind the making of a nation. On these pages may be found the record of our ancestors' efforts to understand the majesty and wealth of this land and its waterways; the interaction between the First Peoples and European colonists, the legacy of which remains problematic to the present; and the tension between French and English which has so often threatened to tear apart the national fabric. What cannot be included in an exhibition of this sort speaks volumes as well. The voices of our Native Peoples, women, and minorities struggle to be heard, though they are largely overwhelmed by the dominant culture of the day which was still male and northern European in character. But in these works may also be found something of the hope that is a constituent part of our national character – a character born as a result of these various struggles. Since that identity is partially determined by what we are not – neither European nor American – these documents also reflect our ongoing endeavour to define ourselves for ourselves. In the 150 years since Confederation, much has indeed changed, but much remains the same. We are still a nation of immigrants, a place where compromise and accommodation are the keys to our prosperity and stability, making us the envy of so many other less fortunate places on the planet. To understand ourselves, we need only to look at the bequest left by those who went before us, whose witness still speaks eloquently – on paper and in ink.

The documents in this exhibition are drawn almost exclusively from the holdings of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and the University of Toronto Archives, and they represent more than 120 years of scholarly collecting. Confining the selections to those two institutions was an intentional choice, made to highlight the rich historic Canadiana in the University's Special Collections. As such, the items included should be considered neither definitive nor exhaustive. Besides attempting to reflect national interests, the books and manuscripts selected necessarily convey the regional focus of donors from the Province of Ontario, and their collections given over the course of the Library's history. It is always difficult deciding which items should be included in any given exhibition, but for one marking the country's sesquicentennial anniversary, this was a particularly challenging task. The Fisher Library is one of the world's greatest repositories for historical Canadiana, and its rich holdings bear testimony to the hard work and discerning eye of generations of the University's librarians. By approaching the exhibition from the point of view of the struggle for nationhood, it was fairly clear where to begin; where to end, however, was another matter since the struggle to evolve continues to the present day. For the purposes of practicality (a trait that Canadians tend to elevate to the status of virtue), it was decided to bring this particular story to completion with Centennial year in 1967, a time of national celebration and burgeoning self-confidence. In these earlier stories, however, are reflected our own.

Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726). *Carte du Canada qui comprend la partie septentrionale des Etats Unis d'Amérique.* A Paris: Chez Dezauche, 1783.

Guillaume de L'Isle (1675-1726). *Carte du Canada qui comprend la partie septentrionale des Etats Unis d'Amérique.* A Paris: Chez Dezauche, 1783.

Part I. The Struggle to Understand

'I am rather inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain.' Such was the initial impression of Canada recorded by Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) as he made his way through the Straits of Belle Isle in May of 1534. He was not alone in this opinion. For many of his fellow Europeans this massive territory to their west seemed little more than a huge rocky outcrop, an obstacle en route to the Orient, dismissed by Voltaire in 1759 as 'a few acres of snow'. The contours of its apparently boundless space were already well-known to the Native Peoples who had inhabited it for thousands of years, but it was a place that would not yield its secrets easily. Nevertheless, explorer after explorer continued to try, originally searching for fish and furs and natural resources. In the process they discovered what the Native Peoples already knew: the terrible beauty of a vast land surrounded by three great oceans. When they first arrived, the Europeans viewed this northern part of the 'New World' as something merely to be exploited, but the books and reports that they left behind reveal their awe in the face of a country that resisted their efforts to understand it. Rivers that were impassable, dark and dense forests inhabited by mosquitoes and blackflies, cataracts that were as deadly as they were beautiful; a great northern sea that could become a frozen graveyard within days; a granite shield and seemingly unending prairie; mountains that beckoned and forbade at the same time. This was the great land that it took more than four centuries to investigate, navigate, chart, and analyze ... and the work still goes on.

1 Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635). *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada.* Paris: P. Le-Mur, 1632.

In 1603, Samuel de Champlain made his first voyage to what would become Canada. Five years later he founded Québec, and he would spend the rest of his life travelling back and forth between the colony and his home in France trying to elicit support for his enterprises. From the beginning of his adventures he made a point of publishing the details of his travels in order to stimulate interest in New France, as well as to encourage investment, often against formidable odds. One of his greatest challenges was to convince the French government and investors that the newly-explored territories would thrive only if permanent settlements were established across its length and breadth. The general tendency, however, was to view New France as merely a seasonal centre for the fur trade and its associated activities, rather than as a stable colonial home. In part, this was a reaction against France's previously unsuccessful attempts to colonize other areas in the New World, such as Brazil and Florida, in the previous century.[1]

In 1629, during the Thirty Years' War, the young French colony was conquered for the first time by the English privateer David Kirke (d. 1654), and Champlain and his *habitants* returned home. In the years that followed, he whiled away his time in France by, among other things, writing this, his longest book, in the hope that when the colony was finally restored to France, its publication would promote renewed interest in the project of exploration and settlement.[2] In the year that the volume appeared, the English King Charles I finally returned New France, including Québec and Acadia, to Louis XIII in exchange for his wife's dowry. In the book, which he dedicated to the all-powerful Cardinal Richelieu, Champlain provides the first detailed description of Canada's eastern coast, as well as the customs of some of its Native peoples. The village depicted in the engraving, while judged to be somewhat idealized, is still considered substantially accurate.[3] The publication clearly had its desired effect: by mid-March of 1633, a major investment from the *Compagnie de la Nouvelle France* had permitted Champlain to initiate preparations to sail for the colony again, and he departed with the blessing of the Jesuit Fathers on 23 March. France reportedly experienced an unprecedented interest in the North American colony, which was in no small way owing to the publication of this book.[4]

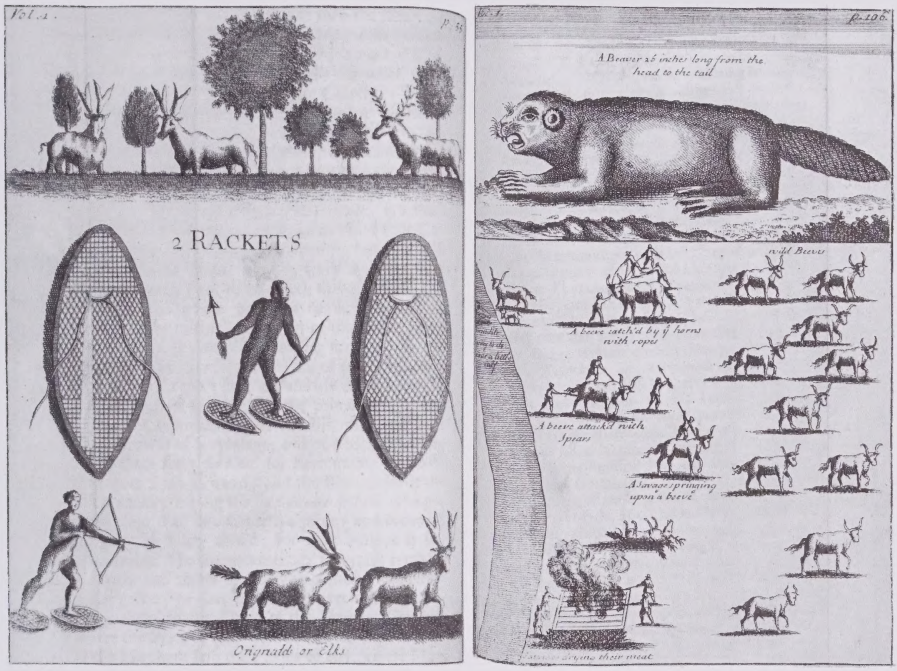
2 Louis Hennepin (1626-ca. 1705). *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand pays situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la mer glaciale.* Utrecht: Guillaume Broedelet, 1697.

Louis Hennepin was a Recollet priest from the province of Hainaut in what today is Belgium. At the request of King Louis XIV, he was one of four priests who left the Low Countries to serve in the missions of New France at the end of May 1675. His peregrinations took him around much of the colony, administering to the needs of settlers from Cap-Tourmente near Québec City to Cataracoui (present day Kingston, Ontario). When Hennepin finally returned to Québec in 1678, he was instructed by his Superior to join René-Robert, Cavalier de la Salle (1643–1687) on his exploration of the western parts of New France. On 8 December 1678, he was among the earliest Europeans to witness the might and majesty of Niagara Falls, and is credited with being the first to provide an eye-witness account of them in this important book. In subsequent years his explorations would take him around the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River Valley regions before he returned to Québec in 1681. By the end of that year, Hennepin had

returned to Europe and settled down to write about his adventures from the comfort of the convent of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. His books, beginning with *Description de la Louisiane* (1683) caused a sensation across the continent.

For reasons still unclear, Hennepin fell afoul of both the civil and religious authorities in France, and removed himself to the Netherlands in 1696. At Utrecht he unsuccessfully attempted to minister to the city's Catholics, and while there published the *Nouvelle decouverte*. His vivid descriptions made the book instantly popular, and whatever faults it may otherwise contain, it succeeded in capturing the popular imagination about the exotic French colony.[5] Displayed is the earliest depiction of Niagara Falls, first sketched by Hennepin in 1678. The Falls are perhaps rendered with a greater verticality than is actually warranted and the picture also includes, for interest's sake, a sailing ship on Lake Erie which is clearly an anachronism.[6] The Fisher copy previously belonged to William Arthur Cavendish-Bentinck, the 6th Duke of Portland (1857–1943), Queen Victoria's Master of the Horse.

3 Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan (1666–1715?). *New Voyages to North-America.* London: Printed for H. Bonwicke, T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, and S. Manship, 1703.



The baron de Lahontan's report of his explorations in the western regions of New France must be read with a somewhat critical eye. While the narrative of his experiences in and around the Great Lakes is undoubtedly true, greater caution must be exercised with regards to his adventures west of the Mississippi, which have been described as having the veracity of 'the legends of the sea serpent.'[7] It is unlikely that he ever set foot in the western portion of the continent. Lahontan arrived in the colony in 1683 as a military officer at the remarkable age of sixteen years, and assaults on the Iroquois and Seneca nations featured prominently in his early career, together with regular skirmishes with the British. His daily journals form the basis for this book, first published in French in The Hague in 1703, and his vivid accounts of what would become Ontario and the American Midwest proved so popular that it saw some twenty-five authorized and pirated editions appear within the first sixty years after publication.

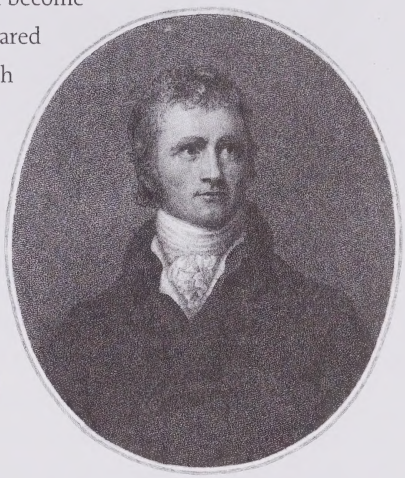
This first English edition was produced under the patronage of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire (1604–1707), and is considered in many ways superior to the original French. For one thing, Lahontan personally supervised its publication in London and corrected the original engravings which, as the preface states, the 'Dutch Gravers had murder'd ... by not understanding their Explications, which were all in French.'[8] Even with Lahontan's oversight, one might fairly wonder if the engraving of the beaver displayed is based on fact or imagination. The English edition also includes a previously unpublished map of Newfoundland. Despite its problems, the book was not without its admirers. In 1903, for example, the American scholar R.G. Thwaites concluded that 'in topography, geography, ethnology, and natural history, all of it the record of personal knowledge, Lahontan's work stands as one of the important sources for the intimate study of New France.'[9] Perhaps its greatest recommendation is that it served to inspire future generations of Canadian explorers, and has the distinction of being the second most popular eighteenth-century travel narrative of North America after Hennepin's.

4 Alexander Mackenzie (1764–1820). *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793.* London: T. Cadell, 1801.

When he was ten years old, Alexander Mackenzie immigrated with his father and aunts to the colony of New York. The family remained in the Loyalist camp at the outbreak of the American Revolution, and the boy was sent to Montréal to continue his education, while his father joined the British militia. Mackenzie displayed an adventurous spirit from his youth, and at the first opportunity abandoned his studies to join the western fur trading company of Finlay and Gregory, one of the partners in the future North West Company. In 1785, he was stationed at Île-à-la-Crosse in what would become Saskatchewan, and served as one of the Company's principal explorers. His expeditions in the northwest of the continent are the subject of this book. In 1789 he negotiated the river that would eventually bear his name, sailing from Great Slave Lake to the Arctic Ocean. His first reaction, however, to the realization that the great river, which is second in length only to the Mississippi, emptied into the Arctic rather than the Pacific, was disappointment since his discovery was of little practical use to his employers. In 1793, he undertook a second voyage of discovery, this time by river and land portages, from what is now Peace River, Alberta to the Pacific. Mackenzie returned

to Montréal and from there to England in 1799. The publication of this journal then became his main preoccupation, and in 1802 he was knighted by King George III for his efforts in the New World. Mackenzie returned to Lower Canada sporadically in the following decade, and even served for a short time in its Legislative Assembly.[10]

Mackenzie's journal proved to be immensely popular, and influenced Lord Selkirk to establish his Red River Colony in what would become Manitoba. Numerous editions subsequently appeared out of New York and Philadelphia, with one French and two German translations published in 1802 alone. Another abridged Russian translation was issued in 1808. The inscription at the beginning of the Fisher's first edition is written in Mackenzie's own hand, and was a presentation copy from the author to 'the Honorable Governor & Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudsons Bay.'



5 David Thompson (1770–1857). 'Essay on Mountains' from the Narrative of the 'Travels' of David Thompson, [ca. 1850].

6 ——. Holograph Sketches of Mountains.

David Thompson's curiosity about his adopted land, its geography, geology, and ethnology contributed to making him one of the greatest explorers this nation has ever known. Born into poverty in London, England, he apprenticed with the Hudson's Bay Company at the age of fourteen, left for Fort Churchill in what is now Manitoba shortly thereafter, and never again saw the land of his birth. In the course of his travels across the northern parts of this continent he studied native languages and learned both Cree and Peigan. While recuperating from a fractured leg, he studied surveying under the HBC inland surveyor, Philip Turnor (ca. 1751-ca. 1799), a circumstance that changed the course of his entire career. He was subsequently hired by the North West Company and worked as one of their surveyors until his retirement in 1812. The following year he

completed a large map of western British North America that was hung in Company headquarters at Fort William. It was subsequently published without credit in 1816. In less than thirty years, he had explored and charted over three million square miles of what would become Canada, from Montréal to the Pacific and the North. With the conclusion of the War of 1812, his skills were once again put to good use as a member of the boundary commission established by the Treaty of Ghent, defining the disputed border between British North America and the United States.[11]

Poverty dogged Thompson in his later years, and so he hoped to attain some measure of security by publishing a memoir of his travels across the country during his working days. He moved to Terrbonne, Québec after his retirement to write and make maps, but owing to his financial straits, he and his wife were compelled to live with their daughter in Montréal in 1845. Five years later the couple moved across the St Lawrence River to the town of Longueuil, where Thompson would later die. By 1848 what remained of his eyesight had begun to fail and by 1851 he was completely blind.[12] Two copies of his unfinished holograph manuscript are held by the Fisher Library. The resulting book, *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, which includes this account of his exploration and mapping of the Rocky Mountains in 1801 and 1802, was edited by another preeminent Canadian explorer, J.B. Tyrrell (1858–1957) and was published by the Champlain Society in 1916.

7 Owen Stanley (1811–1850). Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of the N.W. Passage in H.M.S. *Terror*. [Arctic Ocean, 1836–1837].

Perhaps no part of Canada has proven more elusive to tame or difficult to comprehend than the vast, uninhabited sections of its far north. Understanding the mystery of the great northern sea spanning the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific was long a goal of the European explorers who may have first attempted to penetrate the region as early as the Vikings. These adventurers were initially spurred on by European hopes of finding a direct route from the Old World to the riches of the Orient; over the centuries, however, politicians and entrepreneurs discovered that there was much to be discovered and valued in the area simply on its own merit.

Owen Stanley, the author of this manuscript, entered the Royal Navy at the age of fifteen. The early years of his career saw him train as a surveyor off the South American coast, on the Straits of Magellan, and in the Greek archipelago. In June of 1836 he left

the Orkney Islands, under the command of Captain George Back, on board the *Terror* bound for the Arctic. His principal responsibility was to record the astronomical and magnetic observations made on the voyage, as he explains in this diary. Meticulous in detail, he explains that the government had issued him four compasses, two sounding machines, six thermometers, a case of mathematical instruments, measuring chain and tapes, two dipping needles, one hydrometer, and one marine barometer. In addition he brought his own personal equipment including a repeating reflecting circle, micrometer, chronometer, a forty-inch achromatic telescope, and another large case of mathematical instruments.[13] His descriptions of the mission are vivid with lively reports of polar bear encounters, the hazards of anchoring one's ship to rolling icebergs, and perhaps most fascinating of all, how to while away the hours after your ship becomes frozen in sea ice, something that actually happened to the *Terror* and its companion the *Erebus* on 1 October 1836. With his ship now immobile through the autumn and winter, Stanley reports that the men hosted a masquerade party on board while he 'created an observatory for himself on the ice with a revolving roof made of blanket.' His most humorous entry reveals that 'one day in taking a round of angles with my sextant I found my nose had stuck to it but that was in consequence of it being wet at the moment.' The journal, which also contains a number of fine pen and ink drawings, ends in mid-sentence before the ships were released from the icy grip. In 1838, after the completion of this mission, Stanley was given his first independent command, of the brig *Britomart*, surveying the warmer waters of the East Indies and Australasia.[14]

The story of the *Terror* is fascinating in its own right. It was originally commissioned in 1813 as a vessel equipped to carry mortars for military bombardment and saw service at the Battle of Baltimore in September of 1814, during which Francis Scott Key wrote the words to the American national anthem, *The Star-Spangled Banner*. Stanley explains in the journal that the already-strong ship was actually reinforced in preparation for rescuing whalers in ice-clogged Arctic waters. When this mission was deemed unnecessary he explains that

> ...the Geographical Society having represented to Government how very desirable it would be to connect the part of the American Continent still unknown with the surveys of Ross and Back – the latter officer was appointed to the *Terror* on the 13 of May 1836 with orders to proceed to Repulse or Wager Bays as might be most

> convenient and from there to transport three whale boats on sledges provided for the purpose to the Sea near Ackoole which according to Esquimaux report was not more than 3 day's journey distant from Repulse Bay.[15]

The *Terror* and *Erebus* are most famous, however, for being the ships commanded by Sir John Franklin (1786–1847), lost during the Arctic expedition of 1845–1848 after they had once again become lodged in ice. The *Erebus* was discovered sitting at the bottom of the eastern portion of Queen Maud Gulf in September of 2014, and the *Terror* in Nunavut Bay in September of 2016.

The Fisher manuscript bears Owen Stanley's armorial crest bookplate and the inscription 'Journal of a voyage for the discovery of the N.W. Passage in H.M.S. *Terror*. Capt. Geo. Back. Kept by Owen Stanley, Lieut. in the years 1836-1837.'

8 Agnes Chamberlin (1833–1913). Original Watercolour Paintings of Canadian Wild Flowers. Circa 1865.

What Champlain and Mackenzie did on a macro level to understand the geography of the land, Agnes Chamberlin and her aunt, Catherine Parr Traill (1802–1899), succeeded at doing on a micro level through their examination and recording of the wild flowers of Ontario. In 1863, Chamberlin began sketching and painting illustrations for a book about Canadian wild flowers that had been proposed by Traill. At first, Chamberlin merely copied other published drawings of flowers, but quickly discovered that she obtained better results when she drew from life. She later wrote:

> I had never painted a flower, but the attempt to copy these drawings led to the discovery that I could sketch more accurately from Nature; and although Mrs Traill's book was not then published, I continued to make drawings of all the wild flowers I gathered, with the assistance of friends, on the Humber plains and in the woods about my home on the Dundas Road.[16]

Chamberlin's avocation quickly turned into a necessary means of financial survival after the death of her husband, the lawyer Charles Fitzgibbon, in 1865. She selected ten groups of flowers that she had previously painted to accompany some of her aunt's botanical descriptions, and redrew them on lithographic stones. The images were then

processed by Charles Fuller, the managing director of Chewett & Company of Toronto, and subsequently hand-coloured by a group of young women, including her three daughters. In 1867, Chamberlin paid her aunt fifty dollars for her text, and *Canadian Wild Flowers* was published by John Lovell of Montréal the following year.[17] The book went on sale in January of 1869 and had sold out by March. Four more editions would appear before 1895. The subscription list to the first edition is a veritable who's who of Canadian society at the time of Confederation, including the orders and autographs of Chief Justice William Draper, Toronto mayor George Brown, and the man who would shortly become the nation's first Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald.

In 1894, the biologist James Fletcher described Traill's descriptive texts as 'one of the greatest botanical triumphs.'[18] In addition to its botanical importance, however, the book is also a thing of immense beauty, and is considered the first Canadian 'coffee table book'. When it first appeared it sold for the then extraordinary price of five dollars, the cost of a substantial piece of furniture. Besides documenting wild flowers, Chamberlin also produced seventy-three studies of fungi, several of which were published by the Geological Survey of Canada. Her books and water colours are a typical expression of the Victorian fascination with natural history, but also prefigure the conservationist concerns that would emerge by the middle of the following century. The Fisher Library is home to over three hundred of Chamberlin's original artworks.

9 George M. Dawson (1849–1901). Photographs from his Expedition to the Rocky Mountains and the Northwest Territories, 1883–1886.

Both Dawson Creek, British Columbia and Dawson City, Yukon are named after this man who, by most standards, would be considered an unlikely candidate for the role of 'intrepid explorer'. A native of Nova Scotia, George Mercer Dawson contracted tuberculosis of the spine at about the age of ten, the effects of which afflicted him for the rest of his life. His growth was stunted, his spine became curved, and he was regularly distressed by blinding headaches. None of this, however, stopped him from becoming one of the nation's foremost geologists, geographers, anthropologists, and paleontologists. After graduation from McGill University he continued his studies under one of Charles Darwin's most committed disciples, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895), at the Royal School of Mines in London, England. In 1872, upon his return home, he joined the Geological Survey of Canada – the nation's oldest scientific agency dedicated to developing the country's natural resources and protecting its environment – and worked on

the international boundary survey from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. His *Report on the Geology and Resources of the Region in the Vicinity of the Forty-Ninth Parallel* of 1875 was considered masterful from the moment of its first appearance, is credited with spurring interest in the settlement of the Prairies, and was essential to the planning of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1887 he published a *Geological Map of the Northern Part of the Dominion of Canada East of the Rocky Mountains*, followed three years later by his paper *On Some of the Larger Unexplored Regions of Canada*. Both were considered eloquent pleas for the continued exploration and mapping of the new Dominion. His knowledge of geology and natural history also contributed to the resolution of the boundary dispute between Canada and the United States over the Alaskan border.[19]

These photographs, taken by Dawson during the expedition to the Prairies and Rocky Mountains in the mid-1880s, record both the awesome majesty of the country as well as its native inhabitants. New photographic technologies were a key part of Dawson's data collection, and in spite of their beauty they are not without their critics. Some have argued that, as tools of an effectively colonial government, they must be judged not only for what information they include, but also for what may have been purposely excluded

from the frame. Since early photographs were generally deemed objective depictions of reality devoid of interpretation, they were presented as completely trustworthy and incapable of prejudice. Certain modern scholars, however, have suggested that early photographs of Canada's western frontier were in fact part and parcel of an effort to categorize and exert control over both people and places consistent with systematic plans devised by the British War Department.[20] Be that as it may, Dawson's invaluable photographs are arguably the last visual record made of Canada's West before the arrival of European settlers in large numbers.

10 Joseph B. Tyrrell (1858–1957). First Expedition for the Geological Survey. Rocky Mountains, Alberta, 1883.

This exceptional journal is a record of the 'pace surveys' undertaken by the twenty-five-year-old Joseph Tyrrell, geologist and explorer, made during his first foray into western Canada. A native of Weston, Ontario, Tyrrell graduated in 1880 from the University of Toronto, where he had studied under the great Scottish zoologist Ramsay Wright (1852–1933), and the following year he joined the Geological Survey of Canada. He begins the diary on 25 June 1883 with his party leaving Maple Creek, Saskatchewan by horse and wagon, heading for the Rocky Mountains. The goal of the expedition was audacious in its scope: to explore the passes at Crow's Nest, North and South Kootenay, Kicking Horse, and Bow River; survey the upper Columbia and Kootenay Rivers; and penetrate the head waters of the North Fork of the Old Man River as well as Devil's Head Valley north of the Bow River. Under the direction of Dr George Dawson, Tyrrell was instructed to make 'pace surveys' of these areas on foot, 'noting every detail of rock formation, and collecting numerous plant and animal specimens in addition to the fossils and rocks which were the primary business of a field geologist.'[21] Tyrrell explains his systematic approach to the assignment in the pages of the diary, including his custom of rising an hour before the rest of the team in order to wander and take notes, meeting up with the party for his midday meal, and then beginning the process all over again in the afternoon. One of the more evocative entries, dated 6 July, conveys something of the loneliness of his task.

> On rising in the morning we set to work getting our dunnage all sorted, and it was wonderful how much one could leave behind and then have apparently plenty of

> change for a month. All my clothes and blankets go in one blanket bag. Then we spent an hour or two soldering the tea-pot, then a letter had to be written home and left with Mr Barnet to post and then dinner was ready. After dinner I put a few things into my saddle bags and set off on foot into the foothills to make a pace survey of the Crow's Nest Pass. It will on the whole be the nicest way of seeing the mountains. I think tho' it has the disadvantage inasmuch as I will be separated from the rest of the party and so will not be able to converse with those who are old mountaineers except at mealtimes.[22]

In 1884, Tyrrell would discover the great dinosaur fields of Drumheller, Alberta and a decade later lead the expedition into the Barren Lands of Nunavut, the first European to do so since Samuel Hearne (1745–1792), whose diaries he also would edit in addition to those of David Thompson.

11 Joseph B. Tyrrell and James Tyrrell (1863–1945). Map of Northern Canada and Northwest Coast of Hudson Bay. [1894].

This manuscript map was prepared by James Tyrrell based on data that had been supplied by his brother, Joseph. It depicts the vast, rugged territory that lies north of 50°, from Great Slave Lake to Hudson's Bay. The date of composition is inferred from the fact that it records the route of the Geological Survey expedition that had been undertaken in 1893. The map was originally outlined in pen and ink by J.B. Tyrrell with notes in both his own and his brother's hands. The route of the Canadian Pacific Railway is depicted in red, with the overland route taken by the expedition from Churchill to Norway House sketched in. There is evidence of corrections made to the manuscript, particularly in the area around Marble Island, as well as the coastline of the Hudson's Bay between Chesterfield Inlet and Fort Churchill. The map was published in *The Geographical Journal* of 5 November 1894 as a 'Map of northern Canada showing the routes followed by J. Burr Tyrrell in 1892 and 1893 while in charge of Geological Survey expeditions, prepared from map by J.W. Tyrrell.'

Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772). *Partie occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada.* [Nürnberg : s.n.], 1755.

Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772). *Partie occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada.* [Nürnberg : s.n.], 1755.

Part II. The Struggle to Engage

To say that the relationship between the First Nations Peoples, Métis, Inuit, and Europeans has been fraught over the past five hundred years of the nation's history would be an understatement. As the publications in this section demonstrate, many of the problems that Canada's Indigenous citizens still encounter today have their roots firmly planted in the attitudes and sentiments expressed and codified herein. The books and images may record the efforts of explorers and settlers to engage as far as they believed they were able with the original inhabitants of this country; but it would promote an unhistorical idealism to pretend that such engagement progressed either honestly or smoothly. The myth of the 'noble savage' was advanced fairly early on by the missionaries who laboured throughout the New World, beginning with Columbus. As many of the following authors demonstrate, they believed it incumbent upon themselves to 'civilize' the native population first in order to bring them to salvation by means of the Christian Scriptures. It was the rare cleric who came to realize that conversion to the new faith did not require the wholesale abandonment of their native culture. That being said, it must be admitted that it was also through these same missionaries that the introduction of a written form of the native languages was finally achieved in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the more common narrative behind the history of Canada's Natives is one of betrayal, reaching its culmination in the pre-Confederation era with the War of 1812, when it was deemed expedient to abandon the promises made to those loyal First Nations People who had fought for the Crown in order to preserve some part of the continent that they could call their own. Sadly, the struggle to engage was too often a struggle to control and eradicate.

12 Sir Richard Whitbourne (fl. 1579–1626). *A Discourse and Discovery of Nevv-Found-Land with many Reasons to Prooue how Worthy and Beneficiall a Plantation may there be made, after a far better Manner than now it is.* London: Felix Kyngston, for William Barret, 1620.

Newfoundland is arguably the oldest European colony in the Americas, having been first temporarily settled by the Vikings around the year 1000, almost five hundred years before John Cabot (ca. 1450-ca. 1499) planted the standard of King Henry VII (1457–1509) at Bonavista on 24 June 1497. The Portuguese would quickly follow, recognizing the benefit of maintaining fish drying stations in such close proximity to the Grand Banks. Before the arrival of the Europeans, however, the island had been inhabited for some nine thousand years by the Indigenous peoples, and since about the year 1 C.E. by the Beothuk and Mikmaq. In 1583, the island was formally claimed for England by Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539–1583), making it Britain's oldest colony, an event to which the author of this book, Sir Richard Whitbourne, was personally witness. By that time Whitbourne was already familiar with the island and its inhabitants whom he had first encountered in 1579 during a trading and whaling expedition. In this book he confesses that he initially only perceived the commercial value of the island, and had little regard for it as a place of English settlement. Subsequent visits changed his perspective and after 1612 he became an advocate for its permanent colonization.

Whitbourne's view of the Native people was typical of early European explorers in general. On the one hand he regarded them as 'savages' in need of the civilizing influence of the Christian Gospel, while on the other he acknowledged that they were 'ingenuous and tractable people (being well vsed:) they are ready to assist [sailors] with great labour and patience, in the killing, cutting, and boyling of Whales; and making the Traineoyle, without expectation of other reward, than a little bread, or some such small hire.'[23] The English had generally mixed feelings about the Indigenous people of the New World, ascribing to them both nobility and treachery, with the greatest reservations attributed to the colonists of Newfoundland, likely owing to their limited contact with the Native population there.[24]

Whitbourne wrote this book to encourage support for the settlement of Newfoundland, and as a result it must be viewed as equal parts travel narrative, geography, natural history, and propaganda. While he extols the beauty of the country and the

fertility of its soil, he balances the picture by describing the vicious character of an insect called the 'moskito' as well as the threat posed by the Natives who were known 'to steale Sailes, Lines, Hatchets, Hookes, Kniues, and such like'.[25] Dedicated to King James I and printed with commendatory letters from the Bishop of Norwich on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, every parish in England was asked to contribute to Whitbourne's compensation both for his services to Newfoundland as well as to help reimburse him for the financial losses he suffered there.[26] Although he was given a licence to publish the book for twenty-one years, it ceased to appear after the third edition of 1623. This may in part have been a reaction against the Catholic colonization of the Avalon Peninsula by Lord Baltimore (1579–1632) in 1621 or more generally a response to the failure of the settlement of Newfoundland to thrive.[27]

The Fisher copy is in its contemporary vellum binding with the arms of King James I stamped on the upper cover. It also bears the armorial bookplate of Sir William Pepperell (1696–1758) who organized and executed the successful siege of the Fortress at Louisbourg in 1745. The book was subsequently owned by Joey Smallwood (1900–1991), the first Premier of Newfoundland after the province entered Confederation in 1949.

13 Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635). *Voyages et descouvertures faites en la Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615, iusques à la fin de l'année 1618.* Paris: C. Collet, 1627.

Champlain remains a polarizing figure in Canadian history. On the one hand he is credited with actively pursuing the dream of a French colony in which Europeans and Natives could live together and learn from each other, while on the other hand, he is regarded as an ethnocentric, willful exploiter of Native culture.[28] It may be argued, however, that for a seventeenth-century explorer, his view of the Indigenous People was more progressive than many others, largely owing to the fact that his interactions with Natives were personal and immediate. In order to build New France in an unforgiving landscape, he understood that it was necessary for settlers to learn from the local inhabitants, and to indigenize themselves accordingly. To that end, he encouraged his new *habitants* to adopt native dress such as fur clothing, imitate their efficient techniques of hut building, transport materials by canoe, and adopt the use of snowshoes if they were to survive in this new environment.

In this book, first published in 1619, Champlain confesses that his two previous publications had focused more on describing the newly-discovered land than on its inhabitants. Here he seeks to redress that omission by reporting on his life among the Native peoples in Huronia during the winter of 1618. To a certain extent, Champlain assumed this new perspective in order to secure the interest and patronage of Louis XIII (1601–1643), to whom he dedicates the book, knowing the King's fascination with the North American tribes. Louis's interests in the Native peoples were in fact originally kindled by Champlain himself when, years before, he had given the young monarch a red canoe.[29] The book, which first circulated around Court in manuscript form, is generally sympathetic to the Native population, but argues that settlers and mission-

aries should be sent to the colony as soon as possible to help them more quickly know God, the King and French culture, 'so that with French speech they may also acquire a French heart and spirit.'[30] Whatever ambiguity Champlain may have felt in displacing the Native population, he appears to have ultimately believed that the fundamental French role in the colony was to be 'civilizers'. In his final book on the subject published in 1632, Champlain would declare that there was still no law among the Natives themselves, and that they live *'comme bestes brutes'*, but would soon be civilized by Christianity *'si on habitoit et cultivoit leur terre, ce que la plus-part désirent'*.[31] His rather sanguine judgment on Native desires remains highly debatable.

14 Jérôme Lalemant, S.J. (1593–1673). *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable és missions de peres de la Compagnie de Iesus, en la Nouvelle France es années 1645 & 1646.* Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1647.

The Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, arrived in New France in 1611, a mere three years after the colony had been founded by Champlain at Québec. Its members rapidly established mission posts throughout the Huron nation, as far west as Georgian Bay. Among the luminaries of the Order was St Jean de Brébeuf (1593–1649), who worked almost exclusively among the Indigenous Peoples, immersing himself in their culture and learning their language to such an extent that he supervised the production of a Huron dictionary and grammar. In spite of such concentrated efforts at enculturation, their success, especially in those early years, was limited. Hostilities between the Huron and the Iroquois, who were allies of the English, and the spread of diseases brought by the Europeans, hampered the progress of the mission.

One of the most important weapons in the Jesuit arsenal to shore up European support for their missionary work in Canada, however, was the annual publication from 1632 to 1673 of their *Relations*, the collection of letters and reports that informed Jesuit superiors, and more importantly the French population, about what exactly was being achieved in their name. Eight Jesuit superiors of the Québec foundation signed the *Relations* over their forty-year history, the Fisher copy bearing the approbation of Jérôme Lalemant (1593–1673), who served as Provincial Superior from 1645 to 1650. They are still considered the richest resource for understanding the Native population of North America in the seventeenth century, even by those who see in the *Relations* the *prima facie*

evidence of European efforts to destroy the ancient civilizations of the 'New World'.[32] The practice of letter-writing was in fact not a mere pleasantry but a central feature of Jesuit discipline. The founder of the Order, St Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), incorporated into his *Constitutions* the observation that 'still another very special help will be found in the exchange of letters between the subjects and the superiors, through which they learn about one another frequently and hear the news and reports which come from the various regions. The superiors, especially the general and the provincials, will take charge of this, by providing an arrangement through which each region can learn from the others.'[33] The *Relations* sent from Québec thus complied with Ignatius's wishes, but also made for very popular reading in France. At twenty sols per copy the published books were affordable for ordinary readers, and the numerous pirated editions printed at Lille and Avignon confirm the exceptional demand for such exciting narratives that allowed 'readers to vicariously experience the voyage for themselves.'[34]

The second part of this 1647 edition, written by the Superior of the Huron mission, Paul Ragueneau (1608–1680), deals in large part with the local economy, culture, and activities of the Jesuits in and around the foundation of Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons (near present-day Midland, Ontario) which had been established by Lalemant in 1639. Ragueneau confirms here that 164 natives were baptized in the course of the previous year, and he highlights the example of numerous Natives who had borne witness to their newly-embraced faith by words and deed: Estienne Totiri, Anne Outennen, Noëlle Aouendous, René Tsondihouonne, and others. Their behaviour caused Ragueneau to observe that *'les Sauvages ne sont pas si sauuages qu'on les croit en France, & ie puis dire auec verité que l'esprit de plusieurs ne cede en rien aux nostres.'*[35] It should be noted that the use of the term 'sauvage' here to describe the Indigenous population did not have the same connotation in French that it did in seventeenth-century English. While 'sauvage' may have meant 'wild' or 'undomesticated' for contemporary French-speakers, it did not mean 'brutal' or 'cruel' as 'savage' did in English by this time.[36] Only very occasionally, especially when referring to their Iroquois enemy, did the French use the term disparagingly. The editions of the *Relations* from the 1640s are particularly important since they detail the interactions of Europeans and Natives in present-day Ontario in the decade leading up to the 1649 destruction of the Huronia mission, an event precipitated by the execution of priests, lay workers, and native members of the Sainte-Marie mission, including Brébeuf and Lalemant's nephew Gabriel, at the hands of the Iroquois in late winter of that year.

15 St Marie de l'Incarnation (1599–1672). *La vie de la venerable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France.* Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677.

Marie Guyart, who took the name 'Marie de l'Incarnation' after pronouncing her religious vows, was Canada's first teacher. She was charged with the particular responsibility of educating not only the colony's French girls, but the daughters of the local Natives as well. By the age of twenty, widowed with a young son, she began to feel an overwhelming attraction to the religious life, and so she entered the Ursuline convent in her hometown of Tours in 1631, contrary to her family's wishes. It was there that she quickly gained a reputation both for her sanctity and pragmatism. By about this same time the Jesuit missions in Canada were growing in importance, their fame spread through the famous *Relations*. Marie also felt called to serve the Native peoples of North America, and so after some initial reticence, she embarked for New France in the summer of 1639 with two other Ursuline nuns and three Religious Hospitaller Sisters, who would found the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, the first hospital established north of

Mexico. Like other European settlers, Marie originally considered the spread of the Gospel a part of the 'civilizing' process of Canada's Native population. With the passage of time, her letters and autobiography, however, reveal a certain degree of ambivalence on that point as a result of her personal experiences in New France: sometimes she perceives the Indigenous peoples as noble in character, while at others they still seem 'savage'.[37] In the end, however, she came to believe that Christian identity need not be associated with French culture, and in fact eventually doubted the legitimacy of 'civilizing' as part of the missionary enterprise.[38] For her own part, Marie sufficiently mastered several of the local languages so that she was able to compose a catechism in Huron, three in Algonquin, as well as French-Algonquin, Algonquin-French, and Iroquois dictionaries. She also worked to enculturate the sisters of her own convent in Québec, and regularly included Native meals in their diets, such as eating peas and Indian corn with prunes.[39]

Marie remained in regular contact with her son, Claude Martin (1619–1696), who went on to become a leading light among the French Benedictines. Her correspondence with him and thousands of others has been generally preserved. By command of her religious superiors, her accounts of life in New France were included in the *Jesuit Relations*, a rare honour for a female author. All of this helped to garner support for the French mission, the education of the Native peoples, as well as the importance of women to the advancement of the colony. At the urging of her son, Marie composed this autobiography which she intended for his eyes only. After her death, however, Claude published the book, together with his commentary and editorial 'corrections'. It may be argued that, in its final form, her son had created what he believed a woman's spiritual autobiography should look like rather than what it was in its original form.[40] Nevertheless, it is still a startling, largely first-hand account of the challenges met by one woman trying to understand the Native population she clearly loved. As she expressed in one letter to her son, 'I spent many years not knowing where my spirit should rest. Then very clearly, God let me understand that it was Canada where he wished to use me.'[41]

The displayed portrait of Marie de l'Incarnation was originally painted by Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle (1626–1698), some days after her funeral when the nun's body was actually exhumed from its vault for this express purpose.[42] The engraving in this book was executed by Jean Edelinck (1643–1680) and printed by Pierre Mariette (1634–1716).

16 Church of England. *Ne yakawea yondereanayendaghkwa oghseragwegouh, neoni yakawea ne orighwadogeaghty yondatnekosseraghs, neoni tekarighwagehhadont.* London: C. Buckton, 1787.

The basic position of the Protestant colonial powers concerning the evangelization of the Natives of North America was that the truth of Christianity would become self-evident to those who could read the Bible in their own language. Thus, as early as 1649, Oliver Cromwell had established a society named 'The Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England' and the first Algonquin New Testament was printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1663.[43] After the American Revolution, concern for the King's loyal Native subjects in British North America did not wane, as this 1787 edition of the Book of Common Prayer bears witness; besides the formal Liturgy of the Church of England it also included the first rendering of any complete Biblical text into the Mohawk language.[44]

Thayendanegea, better known as Joseph Brant (1742–1807) completed this translation of the Gospel of St Mark in 1774 while he was working under the direction of John Stuart of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Fort Hunter in the old colony of New York. In 1781 Daniel Claus, a Native interpreter and lieutenant in the Royal American Regiment, brought Brant's manuscript to England, and saw it incorporated into this Prayer Book at the expense of the British Government. The rationale for including the English and Mohawk translation together was ostensibly didactic as the preface to the Prayer Book states. 'Hereby the Indians will insensibly be made acquainted with the English language; and such White People in their vicinity as chuse to learn Mohawk will hence derive much assistance.'[45] The volume also included nineteen engravings executed by James Peachey

(d. 1797). Peachey had been a surveyor, draughtsman, army officer, and artist who had worked throughout the British colonies in North America both before and after the American Revolution. As this demonstrates, he also tried his hand at book illustration in collaboration with the London printer, Christopher Buckton. In 1786 he etched the frontispiece to Claus's *A Primer for the Use of the Mohawk Children*, and in the following year illustrated this volume. Peachey eventually returned to Canada where he executed portraits of Joseph Brant and his wife Catherine.[46]

17 Catharine Parr Traill (1802–1899). *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America*. London: Charles Knight, 1836.

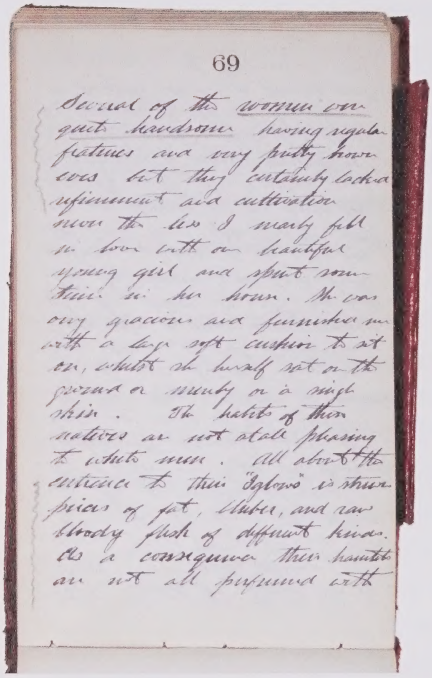
With the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe in 1815, an economic depression settled over the British Isles. The government turned this situation to its advantage, however, by encouraging the immigration of English, Scottish, and Irish families to the British North American colonies. The opportunities offered to impoverished farmers willing to move to the fertile but wild lands of Upper Canada were obvious, while the increase in the colonial population would fortify the territory against American expansionism. To ensure that the immigrants chose Canada rather than the United States, every immigrant family was initially offered free passage, farm tools, six months rations, and two hundred acres of Canadian land. By 1820 those incentives had been discontinued, but as family and friends wrote reports of their new lives back home, more were encouraged to follow. Between 1815 and 1842 Upper Canada attracted 78,000 Irish, 41,000 English and Welsh, and 40,000 Scots. This meant that British immigration to Upper Canada outnumbered American by a ratio of five to one. While at the outbreak of the War of 1812 the majority of the Canadian population had been born in the United States, thirty years later the majority was now foreign-born and mainly British.[47] This would have a dramatic effect on the way in which the British North American colonies would come to view their future together.

The period of the 1820s and 1830s also witnessed the growth of popular travel literature specifically aimed at prospective immigrants to Canada, and included such works as *Emigration Practically Considered* (1828), Joseph Pickering's *Enquiries of a Migrant* (1831), and the *Emigrant's Guide* (1831) by 'a resident of ten years'. Each guide attempts to

anticipate the questions settlers might have about the new land, including those about the Native population. Answers about the First Nations People tended to reinforce a wide variety of stereotypes that had been repeated since the sixteenth century. Catharine Parr Traill (née Strickland) contributed several titles to the genre including this book, as well as *The Young Immigrants* (1826), and *The Canadian Emigrant's Housekeeper's Guide* (1862). What sets Traill's accounts of the Native population apart from other guidebooks of the period is her resistance to accepting the stereotypes at face value. In *The Backwoods*, Traill (who was born in Kent, England) provides her personal impressions of her new home in the area around Rice Lake in Upper Canada to which she had immigrated with her husband Thomas in 1832. Through a series of 'letters', Catharine describes her wonder and astonishment, as well as her disappointment and reservations about life on the Canadian frontier. Besides detailing the practicalities associated with clearing the land and establishing 'society', her anecdotes also describe her encounters with the Indigenous population from the point of view of an English gentlewoman. She expresses admiration for their skill, dexterity, and patience at hunting and fishing, as well as their ingenuity in the making of coloured dyes and crafts. Her assessment of her Native neighbours is generally positive, though not without some prejudice. She is suspicious of their promises while simultaneously conceding that 'they appear of gentle and amiable dispositions; and, as far as our experience goes, they are very honest.'[48] Their observance of the Sabbath, simple piety, and care for children clearly earned her respect, expressed in invitations to share tea in her home. As more and more settlers made their way into the wilderness, Traill is astute enough to recognize that the way of life practised by the Natives for thousands of years would now be threatened. 'The race is slowly passing away from the face of the earth,' she writes, 'or mingling by degrees with the colonists, till, a few centuries hence, even the names of their tribes will scarcely remain to tell that they once existed.'[49]

18 James Williams Tyrrell. Red Diary and Notebook. Ashe Inlet, 1885.

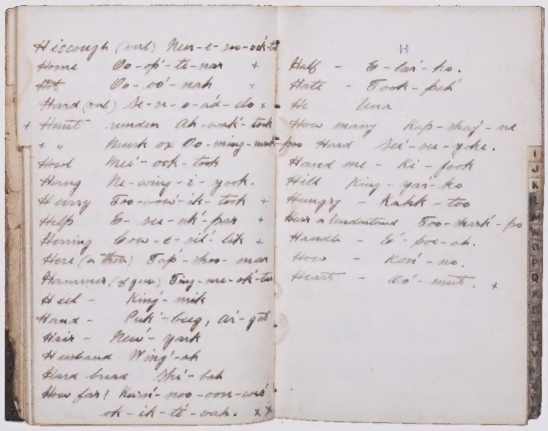
19 ——. Photograph album. Ashe Inlet, 1884–1885.


69

Several of the women are quite handsome having regular features and very pretty brown eyes but they certainly lacked refinement and cultivation. Nevertheless I nearly fell in love with one beautiful young girl and spent some time in her house. She was very gracious and furnished me with a large soft cushion to sit on, whilst she herself sat on the ground or nearby on a single skin. The habits of these natives are not at all pleasing to white men. All about the entrance to their "Iglows" is strewn pieces of fat, blubber, and raw bloody flesh of differ-

James Williams Tyrrell, brother of Joseph, was a civil engineer who was also trained as a hydrographer and meteorological observer. In the summer of 1885 he undertook an official expedition as assistant to Dr Robert Bell for the Geological Survey of Canada, spending the winter at Ashe Inlet on Big Island, located on the north side of the Hudson Strait. It was there that he had many interesting encounters with the local Inuit population, recorded in this journal and his photographs. His diary not only provides fascinating vignettes of life in the far north at the end of the nineteenth century, but also a glossary of commonly used Inuit words and phrases. In addition, he preserves a uniquely Canadian viewpoint of the people he refers to as 'Esquimaux' and 'Huskies', the latter word being a corruption of the term 'Eskimos', originally used by English sailors during the early years of European trade.[50] The diary, not surprisingly, reveals some of the prejudices commonly found in the southern part of the country. 'Those of us who had the time and opportunity went in as largely as we could for trading with the Huskies', he writes. 'Several of the women were quite handsome having regular features and very pretty brown eyes, but they certainly lacked refinement and cultivation. Nevertheless I nearly fell in love with one beautiful young girl and spent some time in her house. She was very gracious and furnished me with a large soft cushion to sit on, whilst she herself sat on the ground or nearby on a single skin. The habits of these natives are not at all pleasing to white men. All about the entrance to their "Iglows" is strewn pieces of fat, blubber, and raw bloody flesh of differ-

ent kinds. As a consequence their hamlets are not all perfumed with the most pleasing odor in the world. The back portions of the houses are occupied by their robes and clothing and on these things they chiefly sit.'[51] Nevertheless, the glossary that Tyrrell preserved remains an invaluable resource for a written language that was still in its infancy. His 1897 publication describing the expedition, *Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada* is considered a classic of northern travel writing. Tyrrell later helped to develop the mining industry in the Red Lake area of northern Ontario and eventually became president of Tyrrell Red Lake Mines. His photograph collection records his activities among the Inuit over the winter of 1885–1886, and includes photographs taken by Dr Bell in 1884.



20 *The Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*. Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Company, 1885.

The Métis are an Indigenous people who descend from the First Nations of North America and early European settlers. Although many Canadians may claim a mixed ancestry of Native and non-Native blood, the Métis are set apart by their specific self-identification as members of this cultural group. Their origins may be traced back to the seventeenth century when French fur trappers married Native women, especially in and around the northern Great Lakes region. Their sons often became fur traders themselves, and members of this community served as a conduit between the two cultures. When the new Government of the Canadas acquired Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company in the mid-nineteenth century, the traditional way of life developed by the Prairie Métis came under attack, and as European settlers began to migrate to the Prairies, the Métis were pushed farther west, away from their traditional lands. While treaties were signed with many of the First Peoples, by which territory was exchanged for education, medical care, and other financial support, the Métis signed almost none themselves. Indifference to their desire for and efforts at self-determination eventually pushed them to the brink with Louis Riel (1844–1885) leading their resistance, first during the Red River Uprising of 1869–1870, and again in the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Riel, who is now regarded as the 'Father of Manitoba', was eventually arrested and executed on 16 November 1885 for his central role in the insurrection.

So interested were Eastern Canadians in the events of the Rebellion that a new journal was launched to cover the story. *The Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News* was published in eighteen issues between 16 May and 1 August, and has been described as 'bombastically nationalistic' in its coverage.[52] Each issue was edited by J.W. Bengough (1851–1923), who also designed and printed most of the large lithographs, like this one, of the 'rebel leaders'. Shown here are Kamīyistowesit (d. 1889), Chief of the Willow Band, and commonly known as 'Beardy'; Mistahimaskwa (d. 1888), Chief of the Plains Cree and known as 'Big Bear'; Riel; the Dakota Chief, White Cap; and Gabriel Dumont (1837–1906). Not all images were as heroic or flattering as this one. The cover of the first issue, for example, depicted a Métis horseman shooting a Canadian soldier dead, a calculated attempt to enflame the passions of readers in the rest of the Dominion at

such wanton violence and disorder, and also intended to encourage enlistment at the same time. In the 11 April 1885 issue of his other journal, *Grip*, Bengough insinuated that journalists had in fact, invented some of their stories, stating in the caption to his cartoon for that day that 'some of the *Mail*'s most interesting despatches from the seat of war are got up in the premises on King-street.' Riel and his compatriots, however, were unable to manage their own story in most of the press, contributing to their ultimate downfall.[53]

Photograph of a Chipewyan family group, with sled dogs, standing beside a building in Churchill, Manitoba, taken taken by J.B. Tyrrell during the 1894 expedition to the Barren Lands.

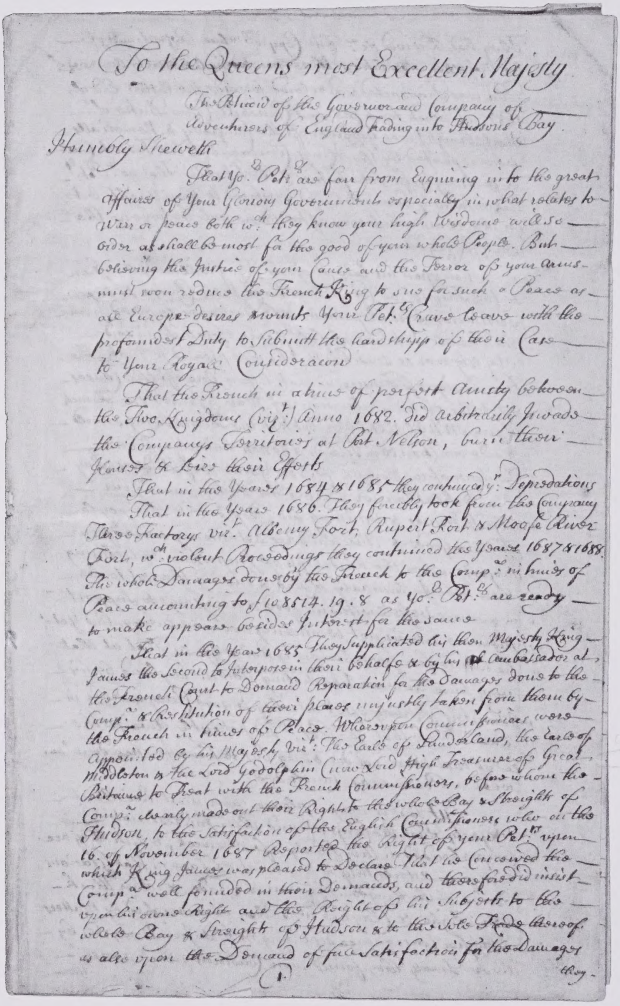
Thomas Kitchin (1718-1784). *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America.* London, 1755.

Thomas Kitchin (1718-1784). *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America.* London, 1755.

Part III. The Struggle for the Continent

According to the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503) neatly divided the New World along an east-west axis between Spain and Portugal with the Spanish theoretically taking control of the majority of North and South America, excluding what would become Brazil. In reality, however, the other colonial powers largely ignored the treaty's articles with regards to North America and 'New Spain' found itself confined to Mexico and the southernmost portions of what now constitutes the United States. The northern part of North America was left to the French, English, and Dutch to fight over for several centuries, with the majority of the continent finally ceded to the British according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. This settlement, however, would not bring lasting peace. Enduring tensions between French and English in the future Canada have their roots in this historic jousting, and the efforts to accommodate the French culture within the new English reality would be one of the contributing factors to the American Revolutionary War. That particular conflict would, in turn begin a new phase in the struggle to control the continent, one that would not truly subside until the achievement of Canadian Confederation in 1867. The accompanying documents trace the outline of those near-constant contests.

21 Hudson's Bay Company. Petition to Queen Anne reviewing the Hudson's Bay Company's Claims against the French. London: [1710?].



To the Queens most Excellent Majesty

The Petition of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay.

Humbly Sheweth

That Yo.r Pet.rs are fair from Enquiring into the great affaires of Your Glorious Government especially in what relates to Warr or peace both w.ch they know your high Wisdome will so order as shall be most for the good of your whole People. But believing the Justice of your Cause and the Terror of your Arms must soon reduce the French King to sue for such a Peace as all Europe desires & wants Your Pet.rs Crave leave with the profoundest Duty to Submitt the hardships of their Case to Your Royall Consideracion

That the French in a time of perfect Amisty between the Two Kingdoms (viz.t) Anno 1682. did arbitrarily Invade the Companys Territories at Port Nelson, burn their Houses & Seize their Effects

That in the Years 1684 & 1685 they continued y.r Depredations

That in the Years 1686. They forcibly took from the Company Three Factorys viz.t Albeny Fort, Rupert Fort & Moose River Fort, w.ch violent Proceedings they continued the Years 1687 & 1688. The whole Damages done by the French to the Comp.a in times of Peace amounting to £108514. 19. 8 as Yo.r Pet.rs are ready to make appear besides Interest for the same

That in the Year 1685 They Supplicated his then Majesty King James the Second to Interpose in their behalfe & by his Ambassador at the French Court to Demand Reparation for the Damages done to the Comp.a & Restitution of their Places unjustly taken from them by the French in times of Peace. Whereupon Commissioners were Appointed by his Majesty viz.t The Earle of Sunderland, the Earle of Middleton & the Lord Godolphin Cuw Lord High Treasurer of Great Britaine to Treat with the French Commissioners, before whom the Comp.a clearly made out their Right to the whole Bay & Streights of Hudson, to the Satisfaction of the English Commissioners who on the 16. of November 1687 Reported the Right of your Pet.rs upon which King James was pleased to Declare That he Conceived the Comp.a well founded in their Demands, and therefore did insist upon his owne Right and the Right of his Subjects to the whole Bay & Streights of Hudson & to the Sole Trade thereof as also upon the Demand of full Satisfaction for the Damages

1.

they

The struggle for control of North America was not only fought between the armies of France and England; it was also played out in the boardrooms and outposts of their principal trading companies. A royal charter dated 2 May 1670 originally granted

control of 1.5 million square miles of territory west of Hudson's Bay to the 'Company of Adventurers'. By any measure, it was a generous gift, yielding an annual return of some £20,000 in pelts. For the merchants and traders of Québec, particularly the associates of the *Compagnie du Nord*, however, it represented a serious threat to their own profits, since furs originally intended for the salons of Paris were now being diverted in their thousands to the merchants of London. Forts belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company became pawns in the skirmishes between the British and French, most notably during King William's War (1688–1697) and Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), but during times of relative peace as well, with the outposts changing hands several times during the hostilities. These incursions and reversals obviously had a direct impact on the Company's revenues. About 1710 the Commissioners drafted this strongly-worded petition to Queen Anne, reviewing the Company's previous grievances over the last quarter century, and suggesting that any proposed treaty of peace with France to end the hostilities should reinforce the territorial gift of Charles II to the Company. They also demanded that the French should quit the region, and restitution be made to the HBC in the amount of £108,514 19s. 8p. based on the profits lost to them during the time when there had been 'perfect amity between the two kingdoms.' One of the most interesting features of the petition is the emphasis placed on economic factors other than the fur trade to be considered in the fight for the control of the continent's far north. Whale bone and whale oil, both of which the British used extensively, were then being purchased in Great Britain from the Netherlands and Germany, in spite of the fact that there was an abundance of these commodities in the Hudson's Bay region. The clear benefit of supplying these goods from British domains was surely evident to anyone with eyes to see.

The petition was personally presented to the Queen by John Robinson (1650–1723), Bishop of London, and she was said to have accepted it with sympathy. The demands were forwarded in a memorandum to the Lords Commissioners of Trades and Plantations on 7 February 1712. The Lords agreed that the arguments were sound and that in any negotiated peace the HBC should have sole right to Hudson's Bay and the Straits of Hudson.[54] In the end, the Treaty of Utrecht (11 April 1713) did recognize Britain's claims over the north, although the exact extent of the Hudson's Bay territories remained undefined. Never again, however, did a foreign power challenge the right of the HBC over its lands, and thus did Queen Anne complete what her uncle, Charles II, had initiated more than four decades earlier.

The Fisher's copy of the petition is four pages in length, and written on two folio-sized sheets with an appendix on a third sheet. While written in a clear hand, it does not have the appearance of a fair copy. Abbreviations, for example, are used for repeated words like 'your' and 'petitioners'; the ampersand is regularly employed; and occasional corrections are made with a pen stroke. It may, therefore, have been one of several copies circulated among the Company's Commissioners in 1710 or 1711.

22 Herman Moll (1654–1732). *A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on ye Continent of North America containing Newfoundland, New Scotland, New England, New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina.* [London]: Printed and sold by T. Bowles, J. Bowles, and I. King, 1715.

This large map shows the realignment of territory in British favour as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. In particular, the previously French-held Acadia is now subsumed within 'New Scotland' (or as it would come to be better known 'Nova Scotia'), with everything north of the St Lawrence River simply identified as 'Part of Canada'. The hand-coloured map includes numerous notes concerning territorial claims by Europeans and Native peoples, and the previously disputed Hudson's Bay trade outposts have had their English names restored. It is perhaps most interesting, however, for its descriptive text and the vignettes that surround the chart itself: 'the cataract of Niagara', 'a draught of ye town and harbour of Charles-town', and most intriguing of all, especially in the wake of the cessation of hostilities in the continent's northernmost fur regions, 'A view of ye industry of ye beavers of Canada'. It would seem that the artist, however, had never actually seen beavers in life, depicting them walking around on their hind legs like small bears with large tails. Nevertheless, it is their appearance here that gives Moll's work its popular name – 'the Beaver Map'. A German by birth from the city of Bremen, Moll spent some six decades engraving maps and atlases, principally in London during the British Enlightenment period, and his associates included the scientist Robert Hooke (1635–1703), as well as the writers Daniel Defoe (1660?–1731) and Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). In fact, it is Moll's maps of Crusoe's island and Swift's mythological lands that appear in the early editions of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*.[55]

A New and Exact MAP of the DOMINIONS of the KING of GREAT BRITAIN on ye Continent of NORTH AMERICA.
Containing
NEWFOUNDLAND, NEW SCOTLAND, NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENSILVANIA MARYLAND, VIRGINIA and CAROLINA.
According to the Newest and most Exact observations By HERMAN MOLL Geographer.
NEW FOUNDLAND
NEW SCOTLAND
CANADA
PART OF
THE FISHING
BANKS OF NEWFOUND-LAND
THE WESTERN OCEAN
VIRGINIA
To the Honourable
WALTER DOWGLASS
CLARENDON COUNTY
CHARLES-TOWN
Ashley River
Cooper River
THE GULF OF MEXICO
A Map of the Improved Part of CAROLINA with the Settlements &c.
A Map of the PRINCIPAL PART of NORYH AMERICA.

23 *A Fair Representation of His Majesty's Right to Nova-Scotia or Acadie.* London: Edward Owen, 1756.

In addition to the territory of Hudson's Bay, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ceded all of Acadia (excluding Cape Breton) to the British as well. The point of this short book was to acquaint the public with the British King's title to the territory, to clearly establish the exact boundaries being claimed by the Crown, and obliquely to justify the expulsion of the Acadian population which had begun in earnest in 1755 by the new Governor, Charles Lawrence (1709–1760). Given that Acadia had been in British hands for two generations, the timing of this publication is interesting. The unidentified authors note that in August of 1714, duly appointed Commissaries had publicly proclaimed the articles of the Treaty to the inhabitants of Acadia at various locations around the colony. At that time, those who wished to continue to live under the French crown were allowed to leave with the protection of King Louis XIV, and were given a year's worth of provisions. Those who chose to stay in Acadia and live under English rule were required to take an oath of loyalty to Queen Anne which was renewed upon the accession of King George I. In fact most Acadians, when obliged, took an oath of neutrality, which satisfied their English administrators until tensions between France and England began to surface again in the 1740s. According to the authors, the principal reason for current concern was the fact that the French were establishing new posts in disputed territory to facilitate communication between Louisbourg and Québec. Among the most contentious issues was the assertion that key settlements like Annapolis Royal and Port Royal were not actually part of Acadia, and thus could still be rightly claimed by the French. In London the book was well received, with the novelist Tobias George Smollett (1721–1771) commenting that it proved that French protestations against the clear evidence of the Treaties of St Germain (1632), Breda (1667), and Utrecht were mere 'chicanery'.[56] The authors allude to the ongoing expulsion of the Acadians as a consequence of 'the right of Sovereignty hitherto kept up and exercised by Us ever since the Treaty.'[57] Between 1755 and 1762, some ten thousand Acadians were deported to the American colonies and beyond. It has been estimated that about three thousand returned, many settling in what would become New Brunswick.

24 Patrick Mackellar (1717–1778). Description of Québec with Engineer's Plan for the Siege, 1757.

In this holograph manuscript, written more than two years before the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, Major Patrick Mackellar provides a strategic description of the City of Québec from a military engineer's point of view. Mackellar had entered the Ordnance service in 1735 and quickly displayed an aptitude for military engineering. He had previously worked on the English defences at Minorca before being posted to the North American theatre in 1754. In August of 1756, after Fort Oswego in New York was captured by the Marquis de Montcalm (1712–1759), Mackellar was imprisoned in Montréal and Québec. It was while he was in that latter place that he familiarized himself with the city and its defences, and upon his return to England early in 1757 he drafted this report. In it he provides a detailed sketch of the physical characteristics of both the Upper and Lower towns, their defences, as well as the difficulties of navigating the St Lawrence River below the city. He summed up the challenges associated with any assault on Québec in the following words: 'The Defence of this Place to the land I can give but an Imperfect Account of,' he writes, 'but as far as I cou'd See or learn, it consists of a Fort and a Tower which Stood upon the highest ground & a small distance from one another at the south end of the Town, without them there are lines which run across the Rock from the Precipice on the River to the South Side to the N:W: Side, they are built with masonry and have some Bastions which are very Irregular, the little I saw of them are thin and without Ramparts and seemd only Design'd against Small Arms. I saw Embrazures in some places viz. opposite the Intendants & upon the highest ground at the South end of the Town, from the narrowness of the Embrazures I concluded the wall must be very thin ...'[58] Although not without error, Mackellar's information provided Wolfe with the intelligence necessary to secure his personal confidence. As a result he became one of Wolfe's most trusted advisers, accompanying him to North America where he contrived a method for landing British infantry by constructing floating stages in the St Lawrence River. He also warned Wolfe against the folly of a frontal attack on the city based on his own reconnaissance. Critically wounded at the Battle of Sainte-Foy in April of 1760, he still oversaw the defence of Québec during his recuperation. In November 1760 he was appointed chief engineer at Halifax, where he worked to improve the defences of that city as well.[59] Mackellar's Description was published by the Office of Ordnance on 12 July 1757, with minor changes.

25 Royal Commission of James Wolfe as 'Brigadier General of all & Singular our Forces in North America'. London, 23 January 1758.

George R.

George the Second by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To Our Trusty & Wellbeloved James Wolfe Esq. Greeting: We reposing especial Trust & Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage & Experience in Military Affairs do by these Presents constitute & appoint you the said Wolfe to be Brigadier General of all & Singular Our Forces employed or to be employed in Our Service in North America only; you are hereby carefully to discharge the said Trust of Brigadier General by doing all Things thereunto belonging; and We hereby Command all Our Officers & Soldiers that are, or shall be employed in Our Service to obey you as their Brigadier General in North America only, and you are to observe such Orders and Directions as you shall from Time to Time receive from Us, or any your superior Officer, according to the Rules & Discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust We hereby repose in you. Given at Our Court at St James's the Twenty third Day of January 1758 in the Thirty first year of Our Reign

By His Majesty's Command

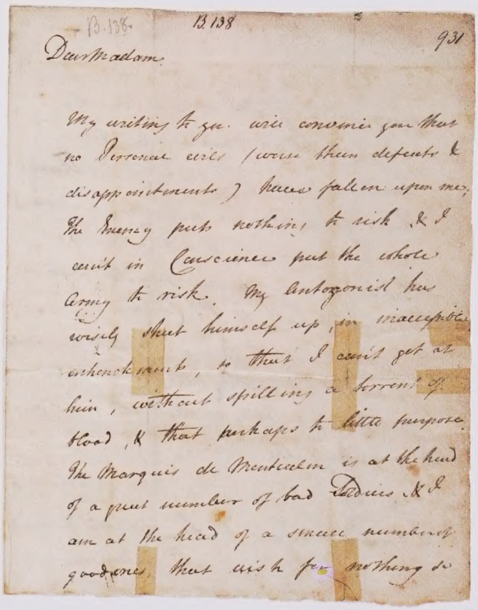
Entered with the Secretary at War

Wolfe Esq. to be Brigadier General in North America only

This commission, signed by King George II (1683–1760) and countersigned by the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, William Pitt the Elder (1708–1778), represents the culmination of Wolfe's extraordinary military career. His first commission, dated 3 November 1741, had been as a Second Lieutenant in the Marine Regiment of Foot under the command of his father, Colonel Edward Wolfe (1685–1759). By 1758, at the age of thirty-one, he had been in military service for almost eighteen years and had seen action during the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748), the later Jacobite plots in Scotland (1749–1751), as well as the Seven Years' War against France (1754–1763). The Commission is engrossed on vellum, was dated at St James's Palace, and displays the wax remnants of the King's papered seal, as well as the standard duty stamps.

26 James Wolfe (1727–1759). Letter to his mother, Henrietta Wolfe, three weeks after the Siege of Louisbourg, Cape Breton. 11 August 1758.

James Wolfe is justly remembered as the British hero of the Battle of Québec which occurred in September of 1759. He had already drawn blood in North America, however, at the Siege of Louisbourg, during which the French fortress there was taken on 26 July 1758, one of the most decisive battles in the Seven Years' War. In this letter to his mother, Wolfe briefly describes the climate and character of North America and its inhabitants with an impartial eye. Concerning the weather in Nova Scotia where he is stationed, he observes that 'the months of April & May, are intolerably cold & disagreeable – June & July are foggy, August rainy – September has always a tempest – October is generally a dry fair month: & the winter sets in early in November.' But he is also clearly aware that the growing territories controlled by Britain in America include more salubrious environments as well. 'There is a variety of climate', he writes, '& for the most part healthy & pleasant so that a man may (if he will give himself the trouble, & his circumstances permit) live in perpetual spring or summer – by changing his abode with the several changes of the seasons. Such is our extent of territory upon this fine continent, that a rich inhabitant may enjoy the kind influence of moderate warmth all the year round.' His opinion of the Native population is less kind and his view of the 'treacherous' French is to be expected. From what he had already seen, however, Wolfe formed a generally positive assessment of the potential of the new British colonies. 'This will some time hence', he continues 'be a vast empire, the seat of power & learning. They have all the materials ready, nature has refus'd 'em nothing, & there will grow a people out of our little spot (England) that will fill the vast space.' Some 229 of Wolfe's autographed letters remained in private hands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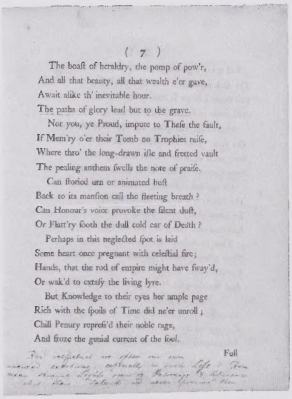
Dear Madam,

My writing to you will convince you that no Personal evils (worse than defeats & disappointments) have fallen upon me; The Enemy puts nothing to risk, & I can't in Conscience put the whole Army to risk. My Antagonist has wisely shut himself up, in inaccessible entrenchments, so that I can't get at him, without spilling a torrent of blood, & that perhaps to little purpose. The Marquis de Montcalm is at the head of a great number of bad Soldiers, & I am at the head of a small number of good ones, that wish for nothing so

from the death of Wolfe's mother in 1764 until they were purchased for the Fisher Library in 2013. The first was written on 6 August 1740 to his mother when he was only thirteen years old, just as he was preparing to board a warship off the Isle of Wight with his father, Edward. Subsequent letters track the course of his career, sent to his parents from Ghent, Oosterhout, Glasgow, Perth, Inverness, Paris, Dover, Exeter, Winchester, Canterbury, Devizes, and points in between. The last is written to his mother on 31 August 1759, only two weeks before the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

The purchase of the Wolfe collection for the University Libraries was made possible through the generosity of Helmhorst Investments Limited. Additional support was provided by the Government of Canada through the Department of Canadian Heritage Movable Cultural Property Program.

27 Thomas Gray (1716–1771). *An Elegy written in a Country Church Yard.* London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1754.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The boaſt of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
Nor you, ye Proud, impute to Thoſe the fault,
If Mem'ry o'er their Tomb no Trophies raiſe,
Where thro' the long-drawn iſle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem ſwells the note of praiſe.
Can ſtoried urn or animated buſt
Back to its manſion call the fleeting breath?
Can Honour's voice provoke the ſilent duſt,
Or Flatt'ry ſoothe the dull cold ear of Death?
Perhaps in this neglected ſpot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celeſtial fire;
Hands, that the rod of empire might have ſway'd,
Or wak'd to extaſy the living lyre.
But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
Rich with the ſpoils of Time did ne'er unroll;
Chill Penury repreſs'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the ſoul.
Full

This otherwise unremarkable ninth edition of Gray's famous poem owes its importance to its association with General James Wolfe and one of the most important campaigns in the struggle for control of North America. As indicated by the inscription on the title page, 'From K.L. Neptune at Sea', the book was presented to Wolfe by his fiancée Katherine Lowther (later the Duchess of Bolton) shortly before he sailed from Portsmouth to Québec. The *Neptune* was the flagship of the expedition, leaving England in mid-February of 1759. Wolfe's letters over the span of his military career reveal that he had never enjoyed particularly robust health, and his afflictions continued to plague him in the months leading up to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham on 13 September 1759. It was during this period of ill-disposition that he wrote the commentary found in the margins of the poem. The words disclose Wolfe's naturally melancholy temperament, and perhaps divulge his private assessment of some of his fellow officers. 'How ineffectual are often our own unaided exertions, especially in early Life? How many shining Lights owe to Patronage & Affluence what their Talents w[oul]d never procure them!',

he writes on the seventh page, while a little later he adds, 'Many indeed are not fitted for any Active Part in Life.' With regards to the *Elegy* itself, and according to the testimony of his midshipman, John Robison, on the eve of the great battle Wolfe declared: 'Gentlemen, I would rather have written that piece than take Québec tomorrow.' Robison later reported these words to Sir Walter Scott, and thus did they enter into the mythology of the moment. They remain, however, the subject of much historical speculation to the present day. General Wolfe and his worthy adversary, the Marquis de Montcalm, were mortally wounded during the hostilities. With Wolfe's victory, and the Treaty of Paris (10 February 1763) that followed, most of the remaining French territories in northeastern North America were ceded to the British. Wolfe's copy of the *Elegy* was acquired by the Fisher Library, and celebrated as the University of Toronto's seven millionth volume, in 1988.

28 *A View of the Taking of Quebeck by the English Forces commanded by Genl. Wolfe, Sep. 13th, 1759.* [London, 1760].

This copper engraving, depicting the movement of the British soldiers across the St Lawrence River in preparation for the attack on the French encampments at Québec, was made for the June 1760 issue of the *London Magazine*, the oldest cultural journal in the United Kingdom. The detailed engraving shows the three stages of the battle

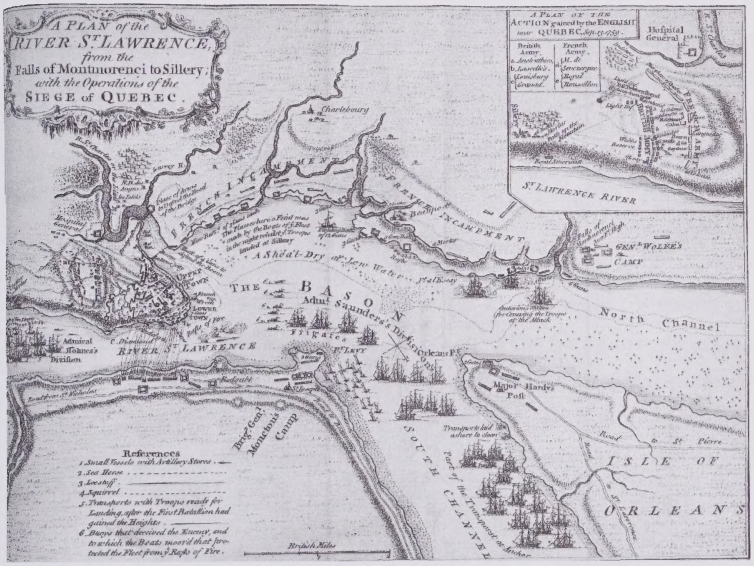
simultaneously: the disembarkation of the British, scaling the cliff, and the battle itself. While the artist is unidentified, its printing has been ascribed to Charles Ackers who was one of the five original partners in the magazine when it was first established in 1732. This attribution, however, is impossible since Ackers died on 17 June 1759, almost three months before the Battle of the Plains of Abraham itself occurred.[60]

29 Richard William Seale (d. 1785). *An Accurate Map of Canada with the Adjacent Countries: Exhibiting the late Seat of War between the English & French in these Parts.* London: Universal Magazine, J. Hinton, [1761].

Richard Seale was a draughtsman, engraver, and cartographer who worked in London for some forty years between 1732 and 1772. His style was influenced by the English mapmaker Thomas Kitchin, and he is perhaps best known for his contributions to the supplement to Rapin's *History of England*, for which he provided maps of the military campaigns associated with the War of Spanish Succession. In this map, created in the aftermath of the Conquest of Québec, Seale demonstrates the extent of North American exploration up to the year 1761. With Wolfe's victory, the Ohio Valley, which had previously been French territory, now came under British jurisdiction, which had implications both for trade and for westward expansion of the thirteen colonies.

30 James Ogden (1718–1802). *The British Lion Rous'd.* Manchester: Printed by R. Whitworth, 1762.

James Ogden began his working life as a fustian shearer in the Manchester cotton trade, before his travels took him to the Continent where he witnessed the Battle of Dettingen during the War of Austrian Succession. By coincidence, it was at this 1743 engagement that James Wolfe, then a young lieutenant, first came to the attention of his military superiors. Although his name is barely recognized today, according to his obituary printed in *The Manchester Gazette*, Ogden was considered 'a person well known in the literary world.' His early works were of a pious character, but they were considered sufficiently fine to establish his reputation by the time *The British Lion Rous'd* appeared.[61] This long, epic poem describing the course of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), and ending with the story of the Conquest of Québec, was published with an astonishing six hundred private subscriptions, including those of the Duke of Bridgewater, the Earl of Kinoul, numerous soldiers, and clergymen. It achieves in verse what Benjamin West's heroic painting would more effectively do eight years later: romanticize the death of Wolfe, while simultaneously advancing a mythology of Britain as the divinely appointed protector of human freedoms. Pondering Wolfe's death, Ogden writes:



A lifeless corse [sic], on Abram-height he lies,
No relative at hand to close his eyes;
Far his fond mother, his betroth'd away,
Yet, beautiful in death the Heroe lay.
Lovely in life, in death yet unsubdu'd,
Immortal Wolfe – thy wreaths, tho' dip'd in blood!
Yet bloom – To Thee, illustrious shade! To Thee!
Britain shall future honours yet decree![62]

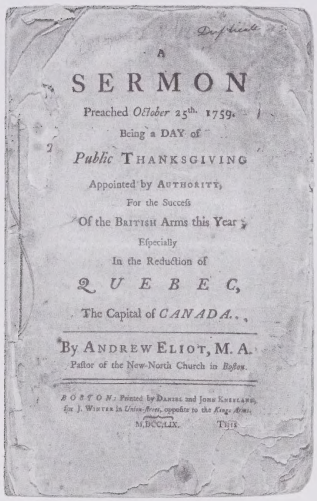
The Fisher copy is 'extra-illustrated', meaning that during the binding process, additional portraits, maps, and plans were removed from a variety of different sources and then added to the basic text, making this particular item unique in its final state. Four of the engravings are folded, including this map of the St Lawrence River, showing the position of the British troops during the Siege of Québec. It was extracted from a 1760 issue of *The London Magazine* and tipped in here.

31 William Woollett (1735–1785) after Benjamin West. Death of General Wolfe. [London: s.n., 1776].

Reproductions of the famous painting by Benjamin West (1738–1820), the second President of the Royal Academy, romantically depicting the death of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham were a fixture in English schoolrooms across Canada throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This particular engraving by William Woollett is considered by art historians to represent the highpoint of that artist's career, and testifies to his expertise with the burin as well as the etching needle. The contrast of light and shadow he was able to achieve with these tools draws the eye of the viewer into the very heart of the scene without the use of colour, focusing attention on the figure of the prostrate Wolfe. A faithful representation of West's propagandistic masterpiece, the scene is reminiscent of the Christian Pietà, with Wolfe assuming the central position of the dead Christ. The original painting was controversial when it first appeared in 1770, and George III actually refused to purchase it because the figures were displayed in contemporary dress, rather than in the classical garb associated with heroic art.[63] It nevertheless proved a highly influential piece and helped to alter critical attitudes towards the realistic depiction of historical events. The irony, of course, is that

the painting itself is interpretive rather than factual, and many of the characters depicted as being present at the moment of Wolfe's death were not, while some who actually were there are not shown at all. It has been suggested that the insertion of one's portrait in the famous scene came at a cost of £100, and there is surviving correspondence to substantiate the claim.[64] West's original painting was presented by the Second Duke of Westminster to the people of Canada in 1921 in recognition of the nation's contribution to the First World War, and hangs in the National Gallery in Ottawa.[65] West subsequently made three more copies, one of which hangs in the Canadiana Collections of the Royal Ontario Museum.

32 Andrew Eliot (1718–1778). *A Sermon Preached October 25th, 1759 being a Day of Public Thanksgiving appointed by Authority for the Success of the British Arms this Year especially in the Reduction of Quebec, the Capital of Canada.* Boston: Printed by Daniel and John Kneeland for J. Winter, 1759.


A
SERMON
Preached *October* 25th. 1759.
Being a DAY of
Public THANKSGIVING
Appointed by AUTHORITY,
For the Success
Of the BRITISH Arms this Year;
Especially
In the Reduction of
QUEBEC,
The Capital of *CANADA*.
By ANDREW ELIOT, M. A.
Pastor of the New-North Church in *Boston*.
BOSTON: Printed by DANIEL and JOHN KNEELAND,
for J. WINTER in *Union-Street*, opposite to the *King's Arms*.
M,DCC,LIX. Price

This forty-one page sermon was preached by the Congregationalist minister Andrew Eliot in the New North Church in Boston. It is essentially an overview of the history of the previous 150 years of hostilities between the French and English in North America, situated within the context of Divine Providence. The market for published sermons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was already huge, but exploded on both sides of the Atlantic with the triumph of the British at Québec. New England preachers, who were among the first to be alerted to the victory, did not hesitate to veer from the theological into the political in their celebrations of the event, seeing in the rout of the French the potential for British expansion across the continent in accordance with the divine will. Andrew Eliot was a francophobe of the highest order who perceived in the French-Indian alliance an infamous, mercenary partnership that had achieved little else than the destabilization of the New World. As he makes clear in this sermon, it was his belief that their combined forces had a single aim: 'in the process of time to drive us into the sea.'[66] He admits that the joy of victory was tempered by the loss of Wolfe who 'lived, till he saw the enemy vanquish'd; and then, as if satisfied with life, he resigned his great soul, and bid adieu to the world and all things in it.'[67] Eliot held more ambiguous views, however, with regards to the British in the years leading up to the American Revolution. A friend of the despised Lieutenant-Governor of the Massachusetts colony, Thomas Hutchinson (1711–1780), Eliot was instrumental in saving his library after it was scattered in the street by rioters in the summer of 1765. Nevertheless, he was also one of the few ministers to remain in Boston during the worst days of the Revolution, and died there on 13 September 1778, nineteen years to the day after the death of Wolfe.[68]

33 Church of England. Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Conquest of Quebec. October, 1759.

The first report of British victory at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham did not reach England until October of 1759, but then was enthusiastically received the length and breadth of the Kingdom. The romantic details surrounding the battle itself particularly resonated with the populace, and King George III commanded that a special service of Thanksgiving be held in every church and chapel on Thursday, 29 November 1759 'for vouchsafing such signal successes to His Majesty's Arms, both by Sea & Land, particularly by the Defeat of the French Army in Canada and the taking of Quebec.' Sorrow over the death of the hero Wolfe was soon transformed into ecstasy over the British supremacy in North America. The sermons preached by the various Anglican divines – James Johnson before the House of Lords, Richard Dayrell before the House of Commons, and James Townley before the Lord Mayor of London in St Paul's Cathedral, to name but three – quickly appeared in printed form, but this manuscript version conveys something of the alacrity with which the text for the Thanksgiving was disseminated around the nation. A special Order of Service for Communion was hastily published on 20 October,[69] and this manuscript, which includes various corrections and insertions, may actually be one of the drafts for the Liturgy itself. Alterations to the service were made to reflect the particular observance of the day, but the general tenor of the service was a humble acknowledgment that God was with the British forces, and implicit in the prayers was gratitude for the triumph of English Protestantism over its enemies.

34 Henrietta Wolfe (1703–1764). Memorial to the King. [1764].

In this holograph draft of a petition to King George III, General James Wolfe's mother asserted that her son was owed up to £10 per day during his service in Quebec, a sum of money to which she now felt entitled as his last surviving relative. Henrietta Wolfe's husband, Lieutenant General Edward Wolfe, had died on 26 March 1759, only six months before their famous son, leaving her alone in the world. (Another son, Edward, had died of consumption in 1744 during the War of Austrian Succession.) Various letters exchanged between the family members over the decades reveal a woman who

suffered from numerous maladies, and who was also deeply concerned about her financial well-being. Beginning in 1761, Mrs Wolfe had approached various members of the government to intercede on her behalf in order to become the beneficiary of her late son's military pension, but to no avail. Although the Treasurer of the Navy, Lord Barrington (1717–1793) dropped his personal objections to her plan in July of 1764, the King saw matters differently. On 14 September of that year, the day after the fifth anniversary of her son's death at Québec, Secretary of War Welbore Ellis (1713–1802), formally communicated King George's denial of her request. Mrs Wolfe died twelve days later.

35 Journal of the Seige [sic] and Blockade of Québec. 1775–1776.

In an effort to mollify the inhabitants of recently conquered New France, the British Parliament passed the Québec Act of 1774 which, among other things, expanded the colony's territory into what are now Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. For many living in the Thirteen Colonies, this piece of legislation combined with other punitive measures passed in the same year to form what the Americans would label 'The Intolerable Acts'. A perception that preferential treatment was being shown to the defeated French Catholic population fused with new restrictions on America's natural westward expansion, and helped to lay the foundations for the American Revolution which began in April of 1775. The struggle for control of the continent would now shift, and become a family affair in which Englishmen were pitted against Englishmen.

In September of 1775, the newly-formed Continental Army of the American Colonies crossed into Québec with the express intent of capturing the capital for the rebels. This short manuscript, written in three distinct hands, describes the efforts of the British and their French allies to fend off their advances. The first section, which covers the period from 14 November 1775 to 17 February 1776, was probably written by Captain Patrick Daly; the second part, whose author is unidentified, details the activities of 20 February to 30 March 1776; and the final sixteen pages, from 1 April to 7 May 1776, is in the hand of Hugh Finlay.[70] Little is known about the career of Captain Daly other than that he was part of The King's Royal Regiment of New York. Considerably more, however, is known about Hugh Finlay (ca. 1730–1801). He had been appointed

Surveyor of Post Roads in January of 1773, and succeeded Benjamin Franklin as Deputy Post Master General of British North America the following year.[71] (The Fisher Library owns another holograph letter from Finlay to the great Surveyor General of British North America, Samuel Holland, dated 1794.) Owing to the crisis in Québec, Finlay was commissioned as an Ensign in the British militia on 23 November 1775, and promoted to 2nd Lieutenant the following month.

The title page to this manuscript is believed to have been written by Malcolm Fraser (1733–1815) who was a Lieutenant with the British militia at the time of the hostilities. Fraser, who had participated in the sieges of Louisbourg, Île Royale, and Québec, is credited with alerting the guards, posted on the walls of the city, to the impending American attack which finally took place on New Year's Eve of 1775.[72] Upon his death, the journal passed to his son, John Malcolm Fraser (1799–1860) who then left it to his daughters.

The siege of Québec was a decisive moment for the future of an independent Canada. It represents the first major defeat for the Americans during the Revolutionary War, and was accompanied by significant losses on their side, including General Richard Montgomery (1738–1775). As Sir James MacPherson Lemoine expressed it on the centennial of American independence, 'had the fate of Canada on that occasion been confided to a Governor less firm – less wise – less conciliating than Guy Carleton, doubtless the brightest gem in the colonial crown of Britain would for the last century have been one of the stars, on Columbia's banner: the star-spangled streamer would now be floating on the summit of Cape Diamond.'[73]

Death of Montcalm. Hand-coloured aquatint (1789) by Moret after the painting by Desfontaines.

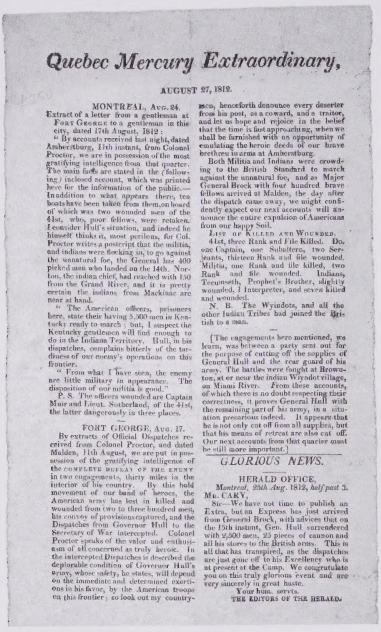
William Dassauville. *Canada and Nova Scotia*. [Edinburgh : John Thomson Junr. & Co., 1821?]

William Dassauville. *Canada and Nova Scotia.* [Edinburgh : John Thomson Junr. & Co., 1821?]

Part IV. The Struggle for Survival: The War of 1812

The hostilities that broke out by summer of 1812 on the border separating the United States from British North America have been justifiably described as a 'Civil War' of sorts.[74] Given the porous nature of the boundary between the two jurisdictions, and the fact that, ever since the Revolution, populations had migrated back and forth in search of more and better land, it should not be surprising that militias were frequently composed of men who had relatives and friends fighting for the enemy. The origins of the War of 1812, however, are not to be found in North America but in Europe, where Britain had been engaged in the Napoleonic Wars since 1803. While the Americans had assumed a neutral position in the fighting, they were slowly drawn into the conflict by the disruption to their international commerce and the impressment of some of their sailors into the great British navy. British reversals on the normalization of trade with the United States in the spring of 1812 combined with outrage over the perceived threat to American sovereignty, leading to the declaration of war by President James Madison on 18 June of that year. Many Americans, however, had also long believed that the territory north of their border should naturally belong to them. It was assumed by some of their greatest power brokers that the conquest of British North America was inevitable and would be a relatively easy enterprise. Thomas Jefferson, for example, had stated as early as 1782 that 'Providence has placed their richest and most defenceless possessions at our door.'[75] The survival of British North America was, however, assured by the end of 1814. Never again would the sovereignty of its borders be challenged by an invading military power. More importantly, what began to emerge was a sense of 'Canadian' identity, distinct from that of Britain as well as the United States. As the *Québec Gazette* would reflect, 'One of the happiest results of the present war will be the sentiment of a community of interest binding us all in one harmonious whole, ever ready to render one another mutual service.'[76]

36 *Québec Mercury*. Montréal: Québec Mercury, 1805–1903.



Quebec Mercury Extraordinary,

AUGUST 27, 1812.

MONTREAL, Aug. 24.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Fort George to a gentleman in this city, dated 17th August, 1812:

"By accounts received last night, dated Amherstburg, 11th instant, from Colonel Proctor, we are in possession of the most gratifying intelligence from that quarter. The main facts are stated in the following inclosed account, which was printed here for the information of the public.—In addition to what appears there, ten boats have been taken from them, on board of which was two wounded men of the 41st, who, poor fellows, were retaken. I consider Hull's situation, and indeed he himself thinks it, most perilous, for Col. Proctor writes a postcript that the militia, and indians were flocking in, to go against the unnatural foe, the General has 400 picked men who landed on the 14th. Norton, the indian chief, had reached with 150 from the Grand River, and it is pretty certain the indians from Mackinac are near at hand.

"The American officers, prisoners here, state their having 5,000 men in Kentucky ready to march; but, I suspect the Kentucky gentlemen will find enough to do in the Indians Territory. Hull, in his dispatches, complains bitterly of the tardiness of our enemy's operations on this frontier.

"From what I have seen, the enemy are little military in appearance. The disposition of our militia is good."

P. S. The officers wounded are Captain Muir and Lieut. Sutherland, of the 41st, the latter dangerously in three places.

FORT GEORGE, Aug. 17.

By extracts of Official Dispatches received from Colonel Proctor, and dated Malden, 11th August, we are put in possession of the gratifying intelligence of the COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY in two engagements, thirty miles in the interior of his country. By this bold movement of our band of heroes, the American army has lost in killed and wounded from two to three hundred men, his convoy of provisions captured, and the Dispatches from Governor Hull to the Secretary of War intercepted. Colonel Proctor speaks of the valor and enthusiasm of all concerned as truly heroic. In the intercepted Dispatches is described the deplorable condition of Governor Hull's army, whose safety, he states, will depend on the immediate and determined exertions in his favor, by the American troops on this frontier; so look out my countrymen, henceforth denounce every deserter from his post, as a coward, and a traitor, and let us hope and rejoice in the belief that the time is fast approaching, when we shall be furnished with an opportunity of emulating the heroic deeds of our brave brethren in arms at Amherstburg.

Both Militia and Indians were crowding to the British Standard to march against the unnatural foe, and as Major General Brock with four hundred brave fellows arrived at Malden, the day after the dispatch came away, we might confidently expect our next accounts will announce the entire expulsion of Americans from our happy Soil.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

41st, three Rank and File Killed. Do. one Captain, one Subaltern, two Sergeants, thirteen Rank and file wounded. Militia, one Rank and file killed, two Rank and file wounded. Indians, Tecumseh, Prophet's Brother, slightly wounded, 1 Interpreter, and seven killed and wounded.

N. B. The Wyandots, and all the other Indian Tribes had joined the British to a man.

[The engagements here mentioned, we learn, was between a party sent out for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of General Hull and the rear guard of his army. The battles were fought at Brownston, at or near the Indian Wyandot village on Miami River. From these accounts, of which there is no doubt respecting their correctness, it proves General Hull with the remaining part of his army, in a situation precarious indeed. It appears that he is not only cut off from all supplies, but that his means of retreat are also cut off. Our next accounts from that quarter must be still more important.]

GLORIOUS NEWS.

HERALD OFFICE,
Montreal, 25th Aug. 1812, half past 3.

Mr. CARY,

Sir—We have not time to publish an Extra, but an Express has just arrived from General Brock, with advices that on the 15th instant, Gen. Hull surrendered with 2,500 men, 30 pieces of cannon and all his stores to the British arms. This is all that has transpired, as the dispatches are just going off to his Excellency who is at present at the Camp. We congratulate you on this truly glorious event and are very sincerely in great haste.

Your hum. servts.

THE EDITORS OF THE HERALD.

The *Québec Mercury*, an English language weekly founded in 1805 by Thomas Cary, particularly reflected the interests and concerns of British merchants who had settled in the colony after the Conquest. Its original editorial policy was deeply conservative, advocating for the assimilation of the French majority into an emerging English society whose dominance, it believed, was ultimately irresistible. Throughout the War of 1812 the newspaper provided regular reports of the various engagements between British and American troops, as in the case of this 'extraordinary' edition dated 27 August 1812, describing the defeat of the Americans by General Isaac Brock (1769–1812) at Fort Detroit two weeks earlier. In this particular case, intelligence had been gathered from correspondence with a gentleman residing at Fort George on the Niagara River who, besides chronicling the victory, also acknowledged the invaluable role played by the First Nations People who fought as allies of the British under the great warrior Tecumseh (1768–1813).[77] His opinion of the Americans is understandably less complimentary: 'From what I have seen, the enemy are little military in appearance.' A second, corroborating report written by Colonel Henry Proctor (d. 1822) at Fort Malden, Upper Canada (situated twenty-five kilometres south of Detroit) and dated 11 August, notes that the Americans had actually lost two engagements thirty miles into Canada, with about 250 American soldiers either killed or wounded. Proctor's communiqué, published by the *Mercury*, explains that American Brigadier General William Hull's dispatches had been intercepted by the British, and confirms that the American militia is in a deplorable state. The 'extra' also includes a brief, express note dated 25 August informing readers that General Brock had surpassed all expectations, receiving the surrender of William Hull (1753–1825) and 2500 of his men on 15 August, together with twenty-five cannon, and all of their stores. The report of Hull's surrender was startling news on both sides of the border. Brock's

decisive victories at Detroit and Fort Michilimackinac earned him a knighthood and membership in the Order of the Bath, while his death in October 1812 during the Battle of Queenston Heights – another British victory – secured for him the moniker 'Hero of Upper Canada'.

Anything resembling a 'newspaper industry' in what was to become Canada was really only in its infancy during the War of 1812. While awaiting official reports from the *London Gazette*, Canadian newspapers were generally dependent on their American counterparts for European intelligence, and there was an understandable feeling in the British colonies that such reports were necessarily biased. War reportage in the few private papers operating in Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime provinces tended to demonize the Americans, offer qualified praise (and later a nuanced critique) of the strategies of the Mother Country, while, most significantly, proposing a definition of 'Canada' and the emerging Canadian character.[78] Laudatory reports of British-Canadian victories found in these early journals also gave hope to those living close to the skirmishes, especially near the Great Lakes and along the St Lawrence River, that their cause was just and survival ensured. Ironically, by the 1850s the *Mercury* had adopted annexationist sympathies, favouring union with the United States. The journal eventually gave lukewarm support, however, to the project of Canadian Confederation.

37 Samuel Woodworth (1784–1842), editor. *The War*. New York: Samuel Woodworth, 1812–1817.

The subtitle for this journal aptly expresses the purpose of this American periodical: 'A Faithful Record of the Transactions of the War between the United States of America and their Territories, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dependencies thereof, declared on the Eighteenth day of June, 1812.' Woodworth, the son of an American Revolutionary War veteran, was an author, editor, and publisher. He actually began soliciting subscribers to his journal six days before the formal declaration of war in anticipation of what was hoped would be a conclusive American victory over the British. By the end of July, he had attracted some eight hundred patrons. At the same time that Woodworth was producing *The War* he also published *The Halcyon Luminary and Theological Repository*, and would go on to produce such literary periodicals as *The Ladies Literary Cabinet*, *The Literary Casket*, and *The Parthenon*. *The War* principally

drew upon official American and British reports, with eyewitness accounts of the land and sea battles often related within a week to ten days of the events themselves. Owing to increasing financial difficulties, publication was suspended on 6 September 1814, three and a half months shy of the formal end of hostilities. (The publication of *The War* actually resumed for three more issues in February 1817, but under the direction of Charles Baldwin.) Complementing the previous entry in this catalogue, the journal is open to the account of 5 September 1812 of the surrender of Fort Detroit by General Hull to Isaac Brock which had occurred about three weeks before the publication of this dispatch, and five months before the official British declaration of war. After a prisoner exchange saw him returned to the United States in 1814, Hull was court-martialled and sentenced to death for cowardice and dereliction of duty. His execution, however, was stayed by President Madison.

38 Thomas Kensett (1786–1829). *To the Officers of the Army and the Citizens of the United States: This Map of Upper and Lower Canada, and United States Contigious.* Cheshire, Connecticut: Thomas Kensett, 1812.

Thomas Kensett was an English artist who trained, among other places, at Hampton Court before immigrating to the United States in 1806. He engraved this map together with the Revolutionary War veteran and battle artist Amos Doolittle (1754–1832) from a manuscript survey executed by Pierre-François Tardieu (1757–1822). The map was duly entered into copyright by an Act of Congress on 4 November 1812, and is both rare and important. It was among the first to depict the area of the conflict stretching from Québec to Lake Superior, identifies forts on the American side, and provides a detailed record of the various townships and districts in the newly-settled Upper Canada. It appeared in at least five states between 1812 and 1815, with the Fisher copy being state two, and predates the formal British Declaration of War by seven months.[79] Tardieu was a French artist and engraver principally known for his historical and genre works.

39 *Declaration [by the Prince Regent of] the Causes, and Origin of the War, in which the Government of the United States has compelled him to engage.* Westminster: R.G. Clarke, 1813.

Initially, the British did not respond to the American Declaration of War, in the expectation that the United States would reconsider its decision. While there were obviously skirmishes on both sides of the border in those early months, the British still hoped that a lasting peace might be restored, even going so far as issuing Orders-in-Council to appease the Americans after several early British naval setbacks. In the end, however, the Prince Regent (1762–1830), acting on behalf of his incapacitated father King George III (1738–1820), issued this document on 9 June 1813, reluctantly declaring a war that would effectively pit cousin against cousin. In it he outlines the reasons why Britain had been forced by the Americans to open another front in its ongoing and expensive military campaigns, including the defence of its interests in British North America. The fact is that suspicion of Britain had never entirely disappeared in the United States in the intervening thirty years since the end of the American Revolution. The establishment of British naval yards in Upper Canada and the Maritimes, British alliances with the First Nations People, and the influx of British immigrants north of their border were all seen as threats both to the Constitution and sovereignty of the new Republic.[80] In addition, although the doctrine of 'manifest destiny' had yet to be definitively formulated, there was a sense in the United States that it was at the heart of a divine plan that would see the great American experiment eventually cover the entire landmass of the continent. As Representative John A. Harper of New Hampshire told Congress in January of 1812, 'the Author of Nature has marked our limits in the South, by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the north, by the regions of eternal frost.'[81] The struggle for the survival of British North America would have to confront the logic of this doctrine for many years, even after Confederation was finally achieved in 1867. Besides printing this British Declaration of War, R.G. Clarke, one of the preferred printers of the British government, was also responsible for other wartime imprints such as *Bulletins of the Campaign* as well as the Treaty of Ghent (below) that ended the bloodshed in 1814.

40 William Charles (1776–1820). *John Bull making a new Batch of Ships to send to the Lakes*. Philadelphia: William Charles, [1814?].

Printed caricatures have been one of the mainstays of political satire since at least the time of the Reformation. The tradition was particularly strong in France and England in the eighteenth century, and made its way to North America by the time of the American Revolution. This rare caricature was executed, published, and sold by William Charles, the Edinburgh-born cartoonist who from around 1806 practised his trade in the United States, firstly in New York, and subsequently in Philadelphia. Charles first appears in print in a series of Napoleonic cartoons published in London in 1803, but he is best known for his seventeen lively satires of the British military campaigns of the War of 1812 in North America. His caricatures were an integral part of popular war reportage south of the border, communicating the issues of the day with insight and humour. Other American caricaturists of the same period include Peter Pencil, Alexander Anderson, and Amos Doolittle.

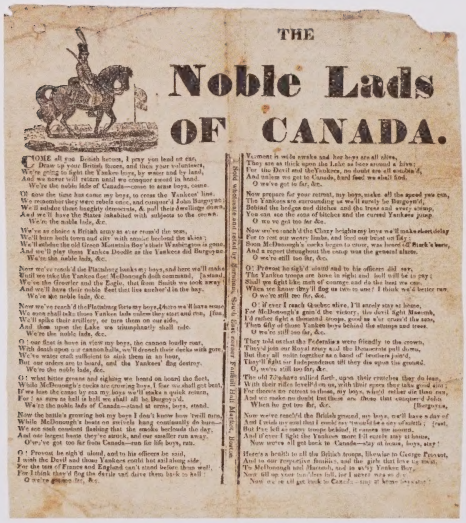
Charles's works are of greater value for their historical significance than as works of art. In style, he was derivative, freely imitating the great British caricaturists of his day, especially Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) and James Gillray (1756–1815). In fact, *John Bull Making a new Batch of Ships* was strongly influenced by, if not copied from, Rowlandson's *High Fun for John Bull, or, The Republicans Put to Their Last Shift* published sixteen years earlier in London by Ackermann. Charles's version appears in two states, as an etching as well as an aquatint. The cartoon is a reflection upon the pivotal naval battles carried out in the spring and summer of 1814 on Lake Champlain and in Plattsburgh Bay during which the Americans, under the command of Thomas Macdonough (1783–1825), defeated the superior British naval fleet of Commodore George Downie (1778–1814).[82] The American victory at Plattsburgh helped to hasten the end of the war, which was achieved by the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814.

41 *A Treaty of Peace and Amity between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814* [The Treaty of Ghent]. London: Printed by R. G. Clarke, [1815?].

By 1814, the war had become a stalemate, and both the British and the Americans were eager for peace. On Christmas Eve of that year the nine articles of the Treaty of Ghent were signed, and it was agreed that hostilities would cease after ratification, which occurred on 17 February 1815. With the exception of the Battle of New Orleans fought on 9 January 1815 (before knowledge of the peace had been communicated to North America), it had principally been a northern conflict. The parties agreed by this Treaty that captured territories and prisoners would be returned; outstanding disagreements over the border resolved by a future commission; and that hostilities against the First Nations People would cease by the Americans, while the British agreed to stop supplying them with arms. In fact, the Native Canadian allies would prove to be the biggest losers of the peace, since the British surrendered the idea of setting aside land for them to own and occupy in perpetuity.[83] News of the peace finally reached Upper Canada at the end of February, and the former belligerents apparently quickly became friends again. On 25 February, Lieutenant John Le Couteur of Kingston reported that 'several American officers came over from Sackets Harbour with the news. We received them very well, gave them a dinner, and made our Band play "Yankee Doodle" on drinking the President's health, which gave them great pleasure.' For North Americans, the end of hostilities was greeted with relief as the end of 'a hot and unnatural war between kindred people.'[84] The American popular press reframed the outcome of a war that had gained them no more territory as a victory for their national survival. North of the border, the results were perhaps more complicated. The Maritimes prospered because of their essential role in the British supply chain and as a centre for shipbuilding. Lower Canada saw its principal settlements financially thrive owing to British investment, while, more darkly, the 'two solitudes' of its population were once again cast into high relief. In Upper Canada, where the fighting had been most intense, the immediate legacy was a mistrust of all things American that endured for decades. In the end, however, the War of 1812 forced the disparate British colonies to cooperate with one another for their survival, and in the process laid the chief cornerstone for what would become Confederation fifty years later.

42 Lemuel Orcott. *The Noble Lads of Canada*. Boston: Sold by Burnham, [ca. 1830].

Francis Scott Key's *The Star Spangled Banner* is undoubtedly the most famous song to have emerged from the War of 1812, but it was certainly not the only one. Other popular folk-songs, including *The Bold Canadian*, *How Happy the Soldier*, and *The Hunters of Kentucky*, immortalized the various personalities associated with the greatest battles of the war, such as Sir Isaac Brock and Andrew Jackson. Despite its title, *The Noble Lads of Canada* is, in fact, a patriotic American ballad. In eighteen stanzas it tells the story of the young Canadian men who descended on New York State to fight at the Battle of Plattsburgh (6–11 September 1814), one of the last engagements of the war. The victorious Americans killed 168 British combatants, wounded a further 220, captured 317 men, a frigate, a brig, and two sloops.[85] The chorus alters from expressions of bravado at the beginning to sighs of desperation at the end as the tide slowly turns against the British, with a final exhortation, 'We are too far from Canada, run for life, boys, run.' The lyrics are attributed to Lemuel Orcott, a New Hampshire Methodist deacon and blacksmith who immigrated to Potton, Québec in 1811. It was especially popular as a working song throughout the nineteenth century, and was reportedly sung at barn-raisings and husking-bees, particularly in New Hampshire and Vermont.[86]


THE
Noble Lads
OF CANADA.

COME all you British heroes, I pray you lend an ear,
Draw up your chairs, and flock your volunteers,
We're going to fight the Yankee boys, by water and by land,
And we never will return until we conquer every inch of land.
We're the noble lads of Canada—come to arms boys, come.

O! now the time has come my boys, to cross the Yankees' line,
We remember they were rebels once, and conquer'd John Burgoyne,
We'll subdue those haughty democrats, & pull their dwellings down,
And we'll have the States inhabited with subjects to the crown.
We're the noble lads, &c.

We've an choice a British army as ever trod the sun,
We'll burn both town and city with music beyond the skies;
We'll subdue the old Great Mountain Boy's state Washington is gone,
And we'll plat them Yankee Doodle as the Yankees did Burgoyne.
We're the noble lads, &c.

Now we've reach'd the Plattsburg banks my boys, and here we'll make a halt
Well we take the Yankee fort McDonough doth command, [stand
We've the Greater and the Eagle, that from Smith we took away
And we'll have their sides feet that lies another'd in the bay.
We're the noble lads, &c.

Now we've reach'd the Plattsburg forts my boys, & here we'll have some fun,
We soon shall ask those Yankee lads unless they start and run, [fine,
We'll spike their artillery, or turn them on our side,
And them upon the Lake we triumphantly shall ride.
We're the noble lads, &c.

O! our fleet is been in view my boys, the cannon loudly roar,
With dauntless air cannon balls, we'll drench their decks with gore
We're water craft sufficient to sink them in no haste,
But our orders are to board, and the Yankees' flag destroy.
We're the noble lads, &c.

O! what bitter groans and sighing we heard on board the fleet,
While McDonough's trade was crowing here, I for no shall get beat,
If we have the cause by my boys we'll make a quick return,
For! as sure as hell is hot my boys, we shall all be Burgoyn'd.
We're the noble lads of Canada—stand at arms, boys, stand.

Now the battle's growing hot my boys I don't know how 'twill turn,
While McDonough's boats on swivels hang continually do burn—
We see each constant flashing that the smoke beclouds the day,
And our largest boats they're struck, and our smaller run away.
O'er've got too far from Canada—run for life boys, run.

O! Provost he sigh'd aloud, and to his officers he said,
I wish the Devil and those Yankees rattle hot and along side
For the sons of France and England can't stand before them well,
For British they'd fog the devils and drive them back to hell!
O we're gone for, &c.

Vermont is wide awake and her boys are all alive,
They are as thick upon the hills as bees around a hive;
For the Devil and the Yankees, no doubt are all outside of,
And before we get to Canada, hard fare we shall find.
O we've got to far, &c.

Now prepare for your retreat, my boys, make all the speed you can,
The Yankees are surrounding us we'll never be Burgoyn'd,
Behind the hedges and ditches and the trees and every stump,
For I am sure the sons of bitches send the crowd Yankee pimp.
O! as we got too far &c.

Now we've reach'd the Cherry heights my boys we'll make a short delay
For to rest our weary limbs, and feed our brave selves;
Soon McDonough's cock began to crow, was heard all Plattsburgh's bare,
And a report throughout the camp was the general alarm.
O we're still too far, &c.

O! Provost he sigh'd aloud and to his officers did say,
The Yankee troops are here in sight and hell will be to pay;
Shall we fight like men of courage and do the best we can,
When we know they'll fog us two to one? I think we'd better run.
O we're still too far, &c.

O! if ever I reach Quebec shore, I'll surely stay at home,
For McDonough's gun'd the victory, the devil fight Macomb,
I'd rather fight a thousand troops, good as e'er crossed the seas,
Than fifty of those Yankee boys behind the stumps and trees.
O we're still too far, &c.

They told us that the Federals were friendly to the crown,
They'd join our Royal army and the Democrats pull down,
But they all unite together as a band of brothers joined,
They'll fight for Independence till they die upon the ground.
O, we're still too far, &c.

The old Talisheen rallied first, upon their crutches they do lean,
With their rifles level'd on us, while their noses they take good aim,
For there's no retreat to them, my boys, which relieves the most sore,
And we make no doubt but those are them that conquer'd John
When he got too far, &c. [Burgoyne,

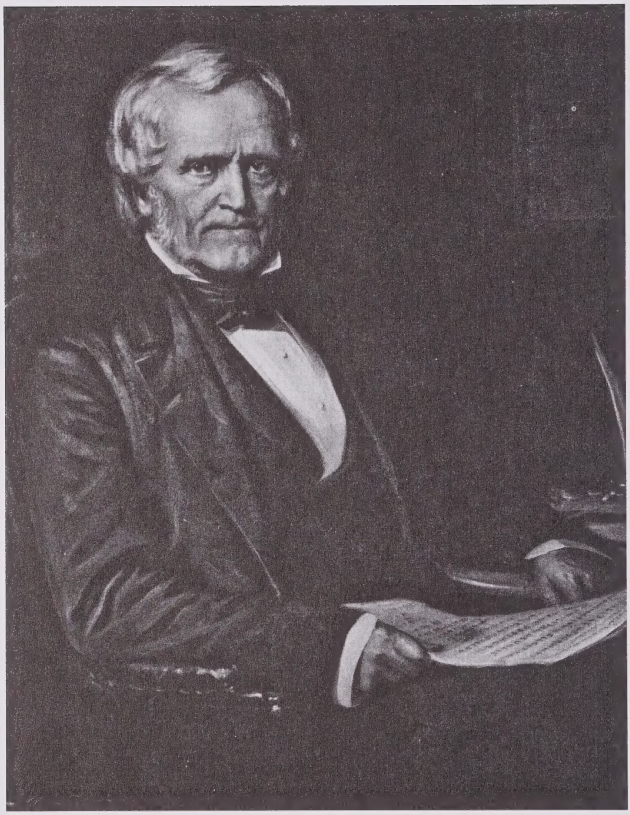
Now we've reached the British ground, my boys, we'll have a day of
And I wish we may find I could see myself be a citizen; [rest,
But I've left as many troops behind, it causes me concern,
And if ever I fight the Yankees more I'll enrich my situation,
To McDonough and Macomb, and to every Yankee Boy.
Now fill up your bumpers full, for I never was so dry.
Now we're all got back to Canada, sing at home [illegible]

43 *Niagara: A Poem.* [Kingston: Patriot Press, 1832].

Without doubt, among the most celebrated struggles during the War of 1812 was for control of the Niagara escarpment. This sixteen-page bucolic extols the remarkable natural beauty of this part of what is now Ontario; the hero of the Battle of Queenston Heights, Sir Isaac Brock; the strength of the British defences that checked the American incursions into Upper Canada; and the virtues of the ill-fated Native Canadian who 'asks but to live in peace, but asks in vain.'[87] This short epic poem was popular from the time of its first appearance, being praised by the *Kingston Chronicle* as 'another specimen of Canadian genius.'[88] Its romanticism likely contributed in verse to the emergent mythology already associated in the popular imagination with Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, Brock, Laura Secord (1775–1868), and the great Mohawk leader, John Brant (1794–1832) – personalities and places forever linked to Niagara that entered the national folklore of Canada's struggle for survival in the face of American aggression. While its authorship is not known with any certainty, the *Courier of Upper Canada* suggested that credit belonged to a Mr Hawke of the Kingston district.[89]

The Patriot Press was originally established in Kingston by Thomas Dalton (1782–1840) in 1829 before moving to York (later Toronto) in 1832.[90] He was one of the first journalists to subscribe to the notion of uniting the British colonies of North America. In October of 1836 he wrote that it was 'the only union that ought to be considered for a single instant, and this should be effected with all possible speed.'

The Fisher copy of *Niagara* was initially owned by Henry Scadding (1813–1901), the first student to be enrolled in the newly-established Upper Canada College when it opened in 1830. Scadding was a protégé of John Strachan (1778–1867), one of the heroes of the Battle of York (27 April 1813), and the first Anglican Bishop of Toronto. After graduation, Scadding was sponsored at St John's College, Cambridge by Elizabeth Simcoe (widow of Sir John Graves Simcoe), and subsequent to his priestly ordination in Québec City in 1837, he returned to Toronto.[91] Upon his death, Scadding's large and interesting library was bequeathed to the University of Toronto and remains one of its most important legacy collections.



William Lyon Mackenzie (1795–1861).

Alexander Keith Johnston (1804-1871). *Province of Canada (Western Sheet)*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, [1861].

Alexander Keith Johnston (1804-1871). *Province of Canada (Western Sheet).* Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, [1861].

Part V. The Struggle for Responsible Government

The governments of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland remained oligarchical after the American Revolution. All power was vested in the Crown and its representatives who sat on appointed legislative councils, with elected assemblies possessing little real power. By the late 1830s, however, a desire for 'responsible government' was spreading across British North America, eventually leading to open rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada in 1837. Within the Canadian context, responsible government refers to a system in which executive power resides in the Crown and its ministers, with the caveat that the executive can only govern as long as it retains the confidence of the people's elected representatives. The achievement of responsible government in the colonies was fraught with challenges; but by the end of the 1840s another essential piece of the jigsaw that would be called 'Confederation' was in place.

This section of the exhibition focuses primarily on the fight for responsible government, especially as it unfolded in the province of Upper Canada; but it is worthy of note that members of the print trade played a significant role in that struggle in all of the colonies. For their efforts William Lyon Mackenzie (1795-1861), printer of *The Colonial Advocate* in Toronto, was forced to live in exile in New York for more than a decade; Ludger Duvernay (1799-1852), publisher of *La Minerve* of Montréal fled to Burlington, Vermont, and did not return home until 1842; Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan (1797-1880), editor of the Montréal Irish newspaper, the *Vindicator*, relocated to the United States where he died; Robert-Shore-Milnes Bouchette (1805-1879), publisher of *Le Liberal* of Québec was sentenced to exile in Bermuda. In total some twenty-five printers, publishers, and booksellers were among the *'patriotes'* of Lower Canada. While no armed rebellion took place in Nova Scotia, the fight for responsible government was led there by Joseph Howe (1804-1873), owner and publisher of the *Novascotian*.[92]

Although the rebellions in both Upper and Lower Canada ultimately failed, they did succeed in attracting the attention of a British government loath to see its colonies, fought over twice in sixty years, lost to republicanism.

44 Sir Allan Napier MacNab Papers. Motion to expel William Lyon Mackenzie from the Upper Canada House of Assembly, 1832.

William Lyon Mackenzie was the principal reformer in Upper Canada. After arriving in the colony from Scotland in 1820, he initially worked in retail trade, but by 1824 had founded the newspaper that would establish his reputation, *The Colonial Advocate*. As its name implies, the newspaper positioned itself as the voice of new immigrants to Upper Canada, and occupied a radical position on the political spectrum. The oligarchy governing the province in the early nineteenth century, commonly known as 'the Family Compact' was solidly Tory and resistant to change. It viewed the reformist ideas regularly espoused by the newspaper with alarm. Its democratic notions and qualified admiration for aspects of the American system of governance were odious to men like the colony's Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colbourne (1778–1863) and the Reverend John Strachan (1778–1867), who rightly considered republicanism a destabilizing force in their world of privilege. In 1825, Mackenzie moved his press from Queenston to York in order to be closer to the seat of government, where he would be able to give more timely reports of the debates in the House of Assembly.[93] From his new vantage point, Mackenzie's appeals for responsible government became more strident and proved popular with the voters of York County, who first elected him to the House of Assembly in 1828. His reports of the Assembly debates helped to solidify the notion among his readers that their representatives should be held accountable to the electorate while, at the same time, they demonstrated the injustice of the veto power held by the unelected Legislative Council.[94] Not surprisingly, Mackenzie's vilification of the members of the Family Compact saw him regularly named in slander suits and his printing house was attacked. On one occasion in 1826 his press was actually pulled over during the infamous 'Types Riot', with his type scattered and thrown into Lake Ontario. The Court awarded damages to Mackenzie in the amount of £625, and he resumed printing almost immediately.[95]

Mackenzie spent a substantial part of 1831 travelling throughout Upper Canada, collecting signatures on petitions demanding the redress of local grievances. Immigration had begun to shift the power base in the colony, with increasing numbers of Irish and descendants of the so-called 'Late Loyalists' more sympathetic to Mackenzie's reformist views. When the new legislative session opened in November of that year, Mackenzie demanded investigations into a number of contentious issues including the activities of the Bank of Upper Canada, the construction of the Welland Canal, and the administration of John Strachan's beloved King's

College. On 1 December, Mackenzie openly criticized the Legislature as a sycophantic body, for which he was expelled from the House. His expulsion, however, only contributed to the perception of him as a martyr for political reform, and on the day the initial motion passed, a mob of several hundred stormed the Assembly House, demanding that Lieutenant-Governor Colborne dissolve the whole legislature, and have new elections. Colborne refused. In the by-election of 2 January 1832 called to replace him, Mackenzie won by a vote of 119 to 1, followed by a victory parade numbering 134 sleighs that processed down Yonge Street to the sound of bagpipes. The Tories, however, were not yet prepared to concede defeat. Less than a week later, Henry John Boulton (1790–1870) and Allan MacNab (1798–1862) drafted and succeeded in having the House once again pass this motion expelling Mackenzie from the Assembly, on the basis of new attacks he had published in the *Colonial Advocate*. A second by-election was called, which Mackenzie again won handily. When a third expulsion followed, Mackenzie successfully appealed to London. Opposing forces organized violent rallies in the aftermath of these events and, after Mackenzie was threatened with death, he actually went into hiding for a time.

45 *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada.* Toronto: Printed by M. Reynolds, 1836.

In January of 1835, the newly-elected 12th Parliament of Upper Canada reversed Mackenzie's several expulsions from the Legislative Assembly and he was chosen to chair a special committee charged with detailing the colony's grievances. In a hopeful sign of progress, Sir Francis Bond Head (1793–1875), a political neophyte, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada by the British Colonial Secretary in the same year, a vote of confidence in the newcomer's supposed powers of conciliation. Upon his arrival, Head even appointed a few reformers to his Executive Council, but then within two weeks he chose to ignore their advice and effectively govern as an oligarch. His Council resigned. In addition, he had been advised by Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, to ignore the Assembly's published grievances, drafted by Mackenzie. In May of 1836, Head dissolved the Legislative Assembly, and called for another election in July. Head campaigned actively on behalf of the Tories against the Reformers, and as a result a large Tory majority was returned, with Mackenzie himself losing his seat.

This journal of the House of Assembly for that tumultuous year includes its resolutions, passed on 15 February 1836, communicating that body's demands for legislative

reform including responsible government, an elected Legislative Council, control of revenues transferred to the House, and the repeal of Imperial statutes injurious to the colony. The Fisher copy is of particular interest because it was Mackenzie's own, and is annotated throughout its latter part in his own hand. The section of the *Journal* containing Head's address to the Legislature shortly before its dissolution, has a final comment in Mackenzie's hand: 'Revolution!!' – something he would attempt in the following year.

46 *Patriot Extra.* Toronto: Toronto Patriot, 15 December 1837.

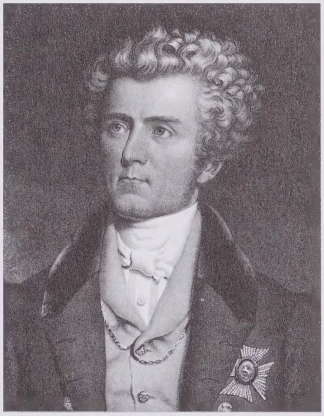
Fresh on the heels of his electoral victory of 1836, Sir Francis Bond Head proceeded to evict from public office any who had supported the Reformers. The omens were not auspicious for those who longed for some form of democratic renewal of British institutions in America. The following year literally saw the fortunes of the colony decline owing to an economic depression that affected both the United States and Upper Canada, for which Head had no ready solution. Then later in 1837, the overconfident governor sent all of the colony's regular armed forces to Lower Canada to assist in quelling a rebellion that had recently broken out there. In their absence, Mackenzie took advantage of the situation to foment rebellion himself. He rallied several hundred men to his banner at the Montgomery Tavern, north of the city of Toronto, on 5 December 1837 in a coup that was relatively short and quite disorganized.[96] As the subtitle for this broadside indicates, the purpose of this 'Extra' was to provide a 'statement of the proceedings in Toronto against McKenzie's mob of assassins, prepared for the Upper Canada Herald, by three gentlemen who were eye-witnesses.' Published ten days after the foiled rebellion, the report is as thoroughly biased an account of the proceedings from a Tory point of view as anything published by Mackenzie in the *Colonial Advocate* or his subsequent publication *The Constitution* was for the radical. After explaining the motives behind the uprising, in which Mackenzie and his confederates are depicted in the most unflattering light possible, Head and other members of the Family Compact are portrayed as the virtuous preservers of order, 'one and all prepared to defend and uphold the Government of their Queen against the movers of "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion".'

According to this dispatch, some three thousand men responded to the frantic call to defend Toronto, and tensions remained high in spite of the fact that the rebellion never actually materialized within its boundaries. The report of lives lost in some small skirmishes on the outskirts of the city, however, served to emphasize the gravity of the situation, and hastened local militias to prepare themselves for battle. Reinforcements under

Colonel Allan MacNab in Hamilton, and others from Niagara, Oakville, Port Credit, the Gore, and Scarborough quickly converged on Toronto, prepared to repel Mackenzie and his followers should they get past the hastily-erected military picquets. In an interesting admission, the 'Extra' suggests that popular support for the rebels may have been stronger than the six hundred men who actually rushed to Mackenzie's side, noting that 'unquestionably a little success on their part would have greatly swelled their array.' The account continues that, after a final assault led by Head, MacNab, and James Fitzgibbon (1780–1863) on 7 December against the rebel headquarters, some fifty insurgents were killed or wounded, with only three loyalists harmed. Many of the rebels arrested were immediately granted clemency as 'they were evidently the dupes of their leaders'; others were tried and transported to the Antipodes or were executed, while others, including Mackenzie, quickly fled the scene for the safety of the United States.

47 Charles Turner (1774–1857). *His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head*. Toronto: Frederick C. Capreol, 1837.

This mezzotint portrait of the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada who presided over the Rebellion of 1837 was 'painted at the solicitation of the inhabitants of the City of Toronto' by Nelson Cook (1808–1892). Cook was a native of Malta, New York, but moved to Upper Canada about the year 1832. Besides Head, the colonial Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson and John Rolph (the 'father' of medical education in Upper Canada) also sat for Cook in the same year. The original painting now hangs in the National Gallery of Canada. The engraver, Charles Turner, was one of the foremost mezzotint artists of the nineteenth century with some 637 portraits to his credit.[97] He was appointed 'Mezzotint Engraver in Ordinary' to King George III in 1812. As for Head, his excesses before, during, and after the Rebellion led to his recall to Britain early in 1838. Shortly after his return he was granted an audience by the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne (1779–1848), during which Head aired all of his grievances against the colony and the government. Melbourne is reported to have replied, 'But Head, you're such a damned odd fellow.'[98] He never held public office again.



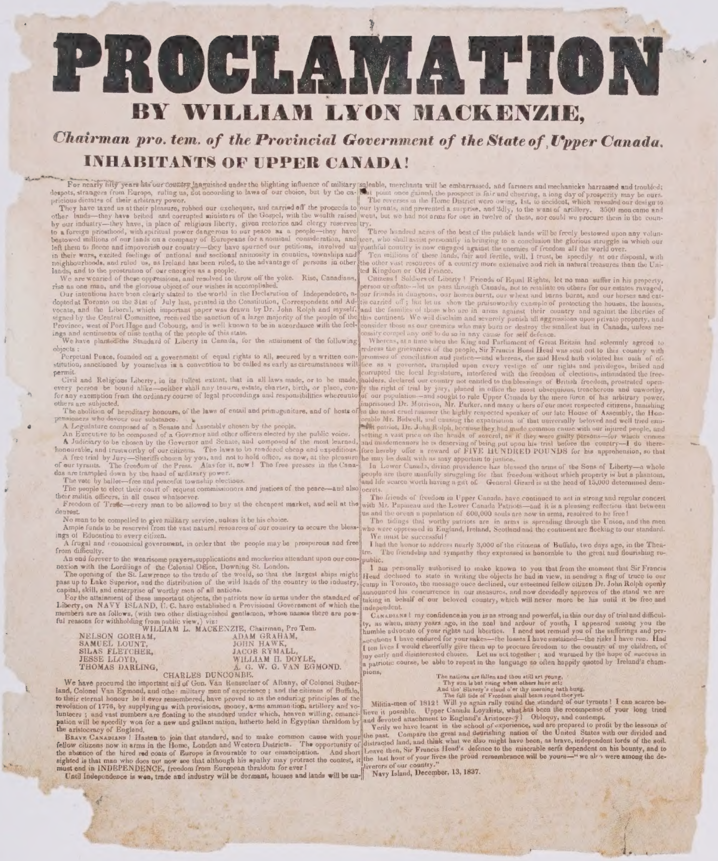
48 *Proclamation by His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head to the Queen's faithful Subjects in Upper Canada.* Toronto: Robert Stanton, [1837].

This handbill-sized proclamation dated two days after the start of the Rebellion, was issued by Sir Francis Bond Head hours before he personally led the final assault against the insurgents.[99] It offers a reward of £1000 for Mackenzie's arrest, and £500 for the other rebels, naming the key figures David Gibson (1804–1864), Samuel Lount (1791–1838), Jesse Lloyd (1786–1838), and Silas Fletcher (1780–1847). Like Mackenzie, Gibson had also been a member of the Assembly. He fled to the United States after the Rebellion, was pardoned in 1843, and returned to Canada in 1848. Lount too was an elected Assemblyman, but he was hanged for his treason. Jesse Lloyd died of a fever less than a year after the rebellion in Indiana. Silas Fletcher is one of the more intriguing and forgotten characters of this episode in early Canadian history, since some have credited him, rather than Mackenzie, with being the one who actually fomented the Rebellion. He escaped to New York and never returned north.[100] The Fisher copy of the proclamation was removed from the inside upper cover of a copy of *The New Week's Preparation for a Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper*, published in London in 1809.

The printer of the proclamation, Robert Stanton (1794–1866), had been a student of the Family Compact member, John Strachan, in Cornwall at the turn of the nineteenth century. A veteran of the War of 1812, Stanton fought at the Battle of Queenston Heights and was taken prisoner during the Battle of York in April of 1813. Besides his duties as the King's Printer for Upper Canada, he was also a colonel in the 1st West York Regiment, and in that capacity had helped to defend Toronto during the Rebellion.[101]

49 William Lyon Mackenzie (1795–1861). *Proclamation by William Lyon Mackenzie, Chairman pro. tem. of the Provincial Government of the State of Upper Canada.* [Buffalo?], 1837.

After the Rebellion failed, Mackenzie fled to Buffalo, arriving there on 11 December. Two days later he established his own provisional government on Navy Island in the Niagara River, which was just inside British Territory. On the same day, he had this proclamation printed (probably in Buffalo)[102] describing himself as the 'Chairman' of



PROCLAMATION

BY WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE,

Chairman pro. tem. of the Provincial Government of the State of Upper Canada.

INHABITANTS OF UPPER CANADA!

For nearly fifty years has our country languished under the blighting influence of military despots, strangers from Europe, ruling us, not according to laws of our choice, but by the capricious dictates of their arbitrary power.

They have taxed us at their pleasure, robbed our exchequer, and carried off the proceeds to other lands—they have bribed and corrupted ministers of the Gospel, with the wealth raised by our industry—they have, in place of religious liberty, given rectories and clergy reserves to a foreign priesthood, with spiritual power dangerous to our peace as a people—they have bestowed millions of our lands on a company of Europeans for a nominal consideration, and left them to fleece and impoverish our country—they have spurned our petitions, involved us in their wars, excited feelings of national and sectional animosity in counties, townships and neighbourhoods, and ruled us, as Ireland has been ruled, to the advantage of persons in other lands, and to the prostration of our energies as a people.

We are wearied of these oppressions, and resolved to throw off the yoke. Rise, Canadians, rise as one man, and the glorious object of our wishes is accomplished.

Our intentions have been clearly stated to the world in the Declaration of Independence, adopted at Toronto on the 31st of July last, printed in the Constitution, Correspondent and Advocate, and the Liberal, which important paper was drawn by Dr. John Rolph and myself, signed by the Central Committee, received the sanction of a large majority of the people of the Province, west of Port Hope and Cobourg, and is well known to be in accordance with the feelings and sentiments of nine tenths of the people of this state.

We have planted the Standard of Liberty in Canada, for the attainment of the following objects:

Perpetual Peace, founded on a government of equal rights to all, secured by a written constitution, sanctioned by yourselves in a convention to be called as early as circumstances will permit.

Civil and Religious Liberty, in its fullest extent, that in all laws made, or to be made, every person be bound alike—neither shall any tenure, estate, charter, birth, or place, confer any exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings and responsibilities whereunto others are subjected.

The abolition of hereditary honours, of the laws of entail and primogeniture, and of hosts of pensioners who devour our substance.

A Legislature composed of a Senate and Assembly chosen by the people.

An Executive to be composed of a Governor and other officers elected by the public voice.

A Judiciary to be chosen by the Governor and Senate, and composed of the most learned, honourable, and trustworthy of our citizens. The laws to be rendered cheap and expeditious.

A free trial by Jury—Sheriffs chosen by you, and not to hold office, as now, at the pleasure of our tyrants. The freedom of the Press. Alas for it, now! The free presses in the Canadas are trampled down by the hand of arditrary power.

The vote by ballot—free and peaceful township elections.

The people to elect their court of request commissioners and justices of the peace—and also their militia officers, in all cases whatsoever.

Freedom of Trade—every man to be allowed to buy at the cheapest market, and sell at the dearest.

No man to be compelled to give military service, unless it be his choice.

Ample funds to be reserved from the vast natural resources of our country to secure the blessings of Education to every citizen.

A frugal and economical government, in order that the people may be prosperous and free from difficulty.

An end forever to the wearisome prayers, supplications and mockeries attendant upon our connexion with the Lordlings of the Colonial Office, Downing St. London.

The opening of the St. Lawrence to the trade of the world, so that the largest ships might pass up to Lake Superior, and the distribution of the wild lands of the country to the industry, capital, skill, and enterprise of worthy men of all nations.

For the attainment of these important objects, the patriots now in arms under the standard of Liberty, on NAVY ISLAND, U. C. have established a Provisional Government of which the members are as follows, (with two other distinguished gentlemen, whose names there are powful reasons for withholding from public view,) viz:

WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE, Chairman, Pro Tem.

NELSON GORHAM,	ADAM GRAHAM,
SAMUEL LOUNT,	JOHN HAWK,
SILAS FLETCHER,	JACOB RYMALL,
JESSE LLOYD,	WILLIAM H. DOYLE,
THOMAS DARLING,	A. G. W. G. VAN EGMOND.

CHARLES DUNCOMBE.

We have procured the important aid of Gen. Van Rensselaer of Albany, of Colonel Sutherland, Colonel Van Egmond, and other military men of experience; and the citizens of Buffalo, to their eternal honour be it ever remembered, have proved to us the enduring principles of the revolution of 1776, by supplying us with provisions, money, arms ammunition, artillery and volunteers; and vast numbers are floating to the standard under which, heaven willing, emancipation will be speedily won for a new and gallant nation, hitherto held in Egyptian thraldom by the aristocracy of England.

BRAVE CANADIANS! Hasten to join that standard, and to make common cause with your fellow citizens now in arms in the Home, London and Western Districts. The opportunity of the absence of the hired red coats of Europe is favourable to our emancipation. And short sighted is that man who does not now see that although his apathy may protract the contest, it must end in INDEPENDENCE, freedom from European thraldom for ever!

Until Independence is won, trade and industry will be dormant, houses and lands will be unsaleable, merchants will be embarrassed, and farmers and mechanicks harrassed and troubled; that point once gained, the prospect is fair and cheering, a long day of prosperity may be ours.

The reverses in the Home District were owing, 1st, to accident, which revealed our design to our tyrants, and prevented a surprise, and 2dly, to the want of artillery. 3500 men came and went, but we had not arms for one in twelve of them, nor could we procure them in the country.

Three hundred acres of the best of the publick lands will be freely bestowed upon any volunteer, who shall assist personally in bringing to a conclusion the glorious struggle in which our youthful country is now engaged against the enemies of freedom all the world over.

Ten millions of these lands, fair and fertile, will, I trust, be speedily at our disposal, with the other vast resources of a country more extensive and rich in natural treasures than the United Kingdom or Old France.

Citizens! Soldiers of Liberty! Friends of Equal Rights, let no man suffer in his property, person or estate—let us pass through Canada, not to retaliate on others for our estates ravaged, our friends in dungeons, our homes burnt, our wheat and barns burnt, and our horses and cattle carried off; but let us show the praiseworthy example of protecting the houses, the homes, and the families of those who are in arms against their country and against the liberties of this continent. We will disclaim and severely punish all aggressions upon private property, and consider those as our enemies who may burn or destroy the smallest hut in Canada, unless necessity compel any one to do so in any cause for self defence.

Whereas, at a time when the King and Parliament of Great Britain had solemnly agreed to redress the grievances of the people, Sir Francis Bond Head was sent out to this country with promises of conciliation and justice—and whereas, the said Head hath violated his oath of office as a governor, trampled upon every vestige of our rights and privileges, bribed and corrupted the local legislature, interfered with the freedom of elections, intimidated the freeholders, declared our country not entitled to the blessings of British freedom, prostrated openly the right of trial by jury, placed in office the most obsequious, treacherous and unworthy, of our population—and sought to rule Upper Canada by the mere force of his arbitrary power, imprisoned Dr. Morrison, Mr. Parker, and many others of our most respected citizens, banishing in the most cruel manner the highly respected speaker of our late House of Assembly, the Honorable Mr. Bidwell, and causing the expatriation of that universally beloved and well tried eminent patriot, Dr. John Rolph, because they had made common cause with our injured people, and setting a vast price on the heads of several, as if they were guilty persons—for which crimes and misdemeanors he is deserving of being put upon his trial before the country—I do therefore hereby offer a reward of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS for his apprehension, so that he may be dealt with as may appertain to justice.

In Lower Canada, divine providence has blessed the arms of the Sons of Liberty—a whole people are there manfully struggling for that freedom without which property is but a phantom, and life scarce worth having a gift of. General Girard is at the head of 15,000 determined democrats.

The friends of freedom in Upper Canada, have continued to act in strong and regular concert with Mr. Papineau and the Lower Canada Patriots—and it is a pleasing reflection that between us and the ocean a population of 600,000 souls are now in arms, resolved to be free!

The tidings that worthy patriots are in arms is spreading through the Union, and the men who were oppressed in England, Ireland, Scotland and the continent are flocking to our standard.

We must be successful!

I had the honor to address nearly 3,000 of the citizens of Buffalo, two days ago, in the Theatre. The friendship and sympathy they expressed is honorable to the great and flourishing republic.

I am personally authorised to make known to you that from the moment that Sir Francis Head declined to state in writing the objects he had in view, in sending a flag of truce to our camp in Toronto, the message once declined, our esteemed fellow citizen Dr. John Rolph openly announced his concurrence in our measures, and now decidedly approves of the stand we are taking in behalf of our beloved country, which will never more be his until it be free and independent.

CANADIANS! my confidence in you is as strong and powerful, in this our day of trial and difficulty, as when, many years ago, in the zeal and ardour of youth, I appeared among you the humble advocate of your rights and liberties. I need not remind you of the sufferings and persecutions I have endured for your sakes—the losses I have sustained—the risks I have run. Had I ten lives I would cheerfully give them up to procure freedom to the country of my children, of my early and disinterested choice. Let us act together; and warmed by the hope of success in a patriotic course, be able to repeat in the language so often happily quoted by Ireland's champions,

> The nations are fallen and thou still art young,
> Thy sun is but rising when others have set;
> And tho' Slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
> The full tide of Freedom shall beam round thee yet.

Militia-men of 1812! Will ye again rally round the standard of our tyrants! I can scarce believe it possible. Upper Canada Loyalists, what has been the recompense of your long tried and devoted attachment to England's Aristocracy? Obloquy, and contempt.

Verily we have learnt in the school of experience, and are prepared to profit by the lessons of the past. Compare the great and flourishing nation of the United States with our divided and distracted land, and think what we also might have been, as brave, independent lords of the soil. Leave then, Sir Francis Head's defence to the miserable serfs dependent on his bounty, and to the last hour of your lives the proud remembrance will be yours—"we also were among the deliverers of our country."

Navy Island, December, 13, 1837.

a provisional government which would be a rival to that of Head's. In the broadside he appeals to his Canadian sympathizers to help him overthrow the colonial administration and, in a brazen move, offers £500 for the apprehension of Sir Francis Bond Head himself. A few days after the printing, Mackenzie daringly crossed onto the mainland to distribute it.[103] Although principally intended for Canadian eyes, the offer of land in Upper Canada was clearly meant to attract American volunteers to the cause. Mackenzie's anticipation of American support for his plans, both officially from the government and informally from the local populace, did not materialize in any meaningful way, however, since the Americans were formally committed to neutrality. Twenty years on, there was still no real appetite for a replay of the bloody stalemate that was the War of 1812.[104]

50 Sir Allan Napier MacNab Papers. Spies' Notes from the Rebellion of 1837.

Allan Napier MacNab of Hamilton first saw military service as a teenager during the War of 1812, fighting at the Battles of Sackets Harbour, Plattsburgh, and Fort Niagara among others. A lawyer by profession, he also served as an officer in the colonial militia. In 1829, he refused to give testimony before the House of Assembly concerning a Tory riot during which the Lieutenant-Governor of the day, Sir John Colborne, was hanged in effigy. At the insistence of William Lyon Mackenzie, MacNab was imprisoned ten days for his defiance, thus becoming a hero to the political right, and bolstering his reputation in Wentworth County where he was elected as representative to the Assembly the following year. In return, MacNab would be personally involved in all five expulsions of his political enemy, Mackenzie, from the same body. By 1837, MacNab was a land speculator and builder; he operated a steamship line between Upper Canada and New York, owned a dock in Burlington, was president of one railway and director of another – in short he was a fixture in the colony's establishment, though not thoroughly Tory at heart. He was, however, absolutely committed to the maintenance of strict class distinctions in Upper Canada, and was a firm opponent of responsible government, believing that the unelected Legislative Council remained the best administrative option. When the Rebellion broke out in December of 1837, MacNab hastily steamed to Toronto with sixty-five men and offered his services to Sir Francis Bond Head. He led the principal body of a thousand men on Mackenzie's forces, and routed the foe. Shortly thereafter he was placed in charge of the offensive against Mackenzie, who had set up his headquarters on Navy Island. The two notes on display reflect the activities of spies from the opposing camps, and form part of the intelligence that MacNab had gathered during this initial period of upheaval and uncertainty. The first, dated January 1838, was intercepted from the rebels and concerns their plan to obtain steamboats from Buffalo to continue the campaign. It also advocates landing troops at Kettle Creek (near Lake Erie) where the British had no armaments. The second note, from a loyalist spy who had apparently infiltrated the ranks of the rebels, details American material support for Mackenzie in the form of troops and ships. At the height of the tensions, Navy Island was protected by some 425 rebel volunteers who faced about 2500 Canadian militia under MacNab.[105] In the end, MacNab bungled the Niagara operation and was relieved of his command on 14 January, the very day that Mackenzie and his allies finally quit Navy Island for the United States.[106]

51 Charles Beauclerk (1813–1861). *Lithographic Views of Military Operations in Canada under Sir John Colborne, during the late Insurrection.* London: A. Flint, 1840.

In Lower Canada, the '*Château clique*' was the equivalent of Upper Canada's Family Compact. Some thirty years of attempts to reform its oligarchical exercise of government finally exploded in a rebellion that lasted sporadically from 1837 to 1838. The situation in Lower Canada was made more complicated by the religious, linguistic, and cultural differences between the French and English populations, though both communities contributed political and social leaders to the cause. Among the most prominent was the *Patriote* Party leader, Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786–1871), who had sat in the colony's Legislative Assembly since 1808. Given his antagonism towards the Church as well as the Crown's representatives, Papineau met with resistance not just from members of the English governing class but from the Catholic bishops of the colony as well. Protests against the colonial government finally turned violent on 6 November 1837 when the *patriotes* fought in the streets of Montréal against the reactionary Doric Club. Sir John Colborne, the commander of British forces in Lower Canada, responded by sending in the Montreal Royal Artillery. The *patriotes* were only emboldened, however, and fought on until 22 November when this initial phase

of the rebellion was brutally suppressed. Many of the leaders fled to the United States, from where some led incursions back into Lower Canada over the next year. In the course of the Rebellion, some 298 rebels were killed, 750 were imprisoned, fifty-eight transported to Tasmania, twenty-seven banished, and twelve executed.

Lord Charles Beauclerk was a captain in the Royal Regiment, as well as an accomplished field artist, and was present at the Battle of Saint-Charles, fought on 25 November 1837. His sketches of the hostilities there, and later at Saint-Eustache, were done *in situ*, made into lithographs by Nathaniel Hartnell (1829–1864) in London, and subsequently hand-coloured. His depiction of 'the fortified pass' only intimates at the carnage of the day. In the preface to this book, the author writes that it had been 'hoped that a display of force would induce some defection among the infatuated people; but, unfortunately for the sake of humanity, it was far otherwise ... This gave rise to an order for the three centre companies, to fix bayonets and charge the works.'[107] When the dust settled, 150 *patriotes* were dead, but only seven British infantrymen were killed. Papineau was among those who fled south in the wake of this decisive loss.

52 John George Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham (1792–1840). *Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Toronto: Robert Stanton, 1839.

In 1838, Lord Durham was sent by the British government as the new Governor General and High Commissioner for British North America. His principal task was to prepare a report for Queen Victoria explaining the grievances in the colonies in hopes of paving the way for greater political stability. Although it was a flawed document at many levels, especially in its recommendation of the assimilation of the French population, it did lay a firmer constitutional foundation for representative, responsible government in what would become Canada. In fact, it became a model for similar reforms in other parts of the British Empire such as Newfoundland, South Africa, Rhodesia, New Zealand, and Australia.[108] 'I admit that the system which I propose would, in fact, place the internal government of the Colony in the hands of the colonists themselves', Durham writes in it. 'If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and, like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy.' One of the results of this Report was the

union in February 1841 of the two colonies of Upper and Lower Canada into the United Province of Canada. While Durham's intention may have been to absorb the French population into a greater English society, the actual result was quite different. Reform-minded individuals in what became known as 'Canada East' (later, Québec) found common cause with their counterparts in Canada West (later, Ontario).[109] Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, politicians the like of Robert Baldwin (1804–1858), Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine (1807–1864), Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786–1871), and John A. Macdonald (1815–1891) would together lay the groundwork and establish the conditions for the idea of 'Confederation' to emerge in the 1860s.

53 *Punch in Canada.* Montréal: Printed and published for the proprietor, Thomas Blades DeWalden, 1849.

Punch in Canada was the nation's first comic journal, based on the British 'Punch' character created by John Leech. Its appearance on New Year's Day, 1849 coincided with the achievement of responsible government in the colonies, first in Nova Scotia in 1848, and followed shortly thereafter by the United Province of Canada. (Prince Edward Island would come next in 1851, New Brunswick in 1854, and Newfoundland in 1855.) The cartoon on display, 'Young Canada delighted with Responsible Government' depicts something of the journal's cynicism and satire which caused the *Québec Gazette* to describe its appearance on the Canadian scene thusly: 'The illustrations are very good. The wit will probably be found too pungent for some people. The best plan is for them to laugh at themselves. *Punch*, while battling stoutly at humbug, says he will belong to no party.' Be that as it may, the magazine certainly was not enthusiastic for colonial 'responsible government' as a political philosophy. In his introduction to the new journal, its 'talented boy' publisher and wood engraver, John Henry Walker (1831–1899), informed his readers that '*Punch in Canada* makes his bow to all loyal subjects in the Province. He knows the spirit of Humbug is walking abroad. It shall no longer do so unregarded. It has many emanations. The cuckoo cry of Responsible Government in a colony is Humbug ... May Humbug be destroyed.' *Punch's* suspicion of responsible government was principally rooted in the belief that the citizenry was not mature enough to handle it, and feared that it would leave the colony at the 'mercy of devious politicians who have so corrupted her by reading from "La Fontaine's fables" that they

can use the Governor General Lord Elgin as their puppet.'[110] On the facing page to the large cartoon, Walker displays equal contempt for the movement for the greater independence in the colonies. In a satirical speech supposedly delivered by Punch himself to the Legislative Assembly of the United Canada, he notes that 'among other measures of importance which will, or ought to be laid before you, is a Bill to abolish both in the English and French languages, the terms Responsible Government, British Dominion, Union Act, and Dictatorship' by which 'you will thus shut up Louis Joseph Papineau.' *Punch in Canada* did not enjoy a long life. After moving to Toronto at the beginning of 1850, its last issue appeared on 27 April of that year. Walker proceeded to found the comic journals *Diogenes* and *Grinchuckle*, while his wood engravings also graced the pages of *The Dart*, *Jester*, *The Canadian Illustrated News*, and *L'Opinion publique*.[111]

YOUNG CANADA

DELIGHTED WITH RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Canada. Department of Public Works. *Map shewing the railway systems in the eastern provinces of Canada.* [Ottawa] : Minister of Public Works, 1876.

Canada. Department of Public Works. *Map shewing the railway systems in the eastern provinces of Canada.* [Ottawa] : Minister of Public Works, 1876.

Part VI. The Struggle for a Nation

Unlike her neighbour to the south, Canada was not born in revolution. The achievement of responsible government may have provided the proper conditions for local self-rule, but it was the response by colonial politicians and populations to a series of distinct challenges and crises that ultimately paved the way to Confederation. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island initially thought that an Atlantic union was the political way forward; meanwhile, to the west, the United Provinces of Canada East (Québec) and Canada West (Ontario) had already had such union imposed on them in 1841. But for some visionaries, like Thomas Dalton, the publisher of the 1830s era *Patriot* newspaper in Toronto, the future was far grander than many imagined. A single nation, covering the land mass of the northern portion of the continent, British in its institutions with firm ties to the Crown: this was the dream that some were beginning to grasp was the only option when living next to the colossus that was the United States. In the end, its realization was largely a pragmatic response to the economic and political realities of the day. To admit that reality, however, somewhat obscures the fact that the middle of the nineteenth century was an exciting time to be living in British North America. It was an era of challenge, conflict, and tension that produced its own heroes, to which the stories behind the texts in these two cases readily bear witness.

54 Sir John Gladstone (1764–1851). *Plain Facts Intimately Connected with the Intended Repeal of the Corn Laws, its Probable Effects on the Public Revenue, and the Prosperity of this Country. Addressed to all Classes, in the United Kingdom and her Colonies.* London: J. Murray, 1846.

One of the first stimuli towards Confederation was economics. A special trade arrangement, known as the 'Corn Laws' had existed between Britain and her colonies for decades. According to this arrangement, Britain imposed very low duties on colonial grain commodities compared with those imported from other countries, such as the United States. This preferential treatment obviously made Canadian goods more attractive to British consumers, and boosted the growing local economy. In 1846, however, the British parliament passed the Importation Act which ended this special arrangement, and as a result, the colonies were forced to compete within a free trade system in which no foreign country would be subjected to tariffs. For the North American colonists, this new situation was fraught with fiscal peril. The colonists had spent vast amounts of money building mills and canals in order to ferry their produce from farms on the shores of Lake Huron to the ports of Montréal and Québec, and from thence on to the great docks of Liverpool and Portsmouth. With the adoption of free trade, the small but emerging Canadian economy would be at a distinct disadvantage compared to the much more dynamic American market. On the other hand, the suspension of the Corn Laws removed one of the last remaining objections to colonial self-government since it could now be argued that the control of trade from London was no longer an absolute necessity.[112] The development of the local economy, therefore, would increasingly become dependent on finding a solution made in British North America.

The author of this analysis of the effects of the Importation Act, Sir John Gladstone, was the father of William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898) who would eventually become Prime Minister of Great Britain and play a key role in the negotiations for Canadian Confederation. Sir John was a committed free trader who opposed preferences for Canadian timber while at the same time supporting the Corn Laws, the abolition of which he felt 'may prove fatal in their consequences.'[113]

55 William Hamilton Merritt (1793–1862). *Remarks on the Extension of Reciprocity between Canada and the United States.* St Catharines, [Canada West]: Leavenworth, 1855.

With the passage of the Importation Act of 1846, it became necessary for the British colonists in North America to look for new markets to sustain themselves. Instead of seriously engaging with their eastern and western neighbours in the other British colonies, the eyes of farmers, merchants, and traders initially turned southward towards the significantly larger markets in the United States. The free trade doctrine of Adam Smith (1723–1790), with which the British were so enamoured mid-century, was not as enthusiastically embraced by the Americans who remained protectionist in their own trade policies. While the majority of the population and their leaders saw no benefit in entering into a free trade agreement with citizens north of their border, they did take full advantage of the new British markets open to their wares.[114] Some Americans felt that if the British colonists wanted to share in the benefits of free trade with them, then it was time for the colonies to join the Republic. Given their current economic disadvantage, some merchants in Montréal and Toronto even began to concur with that opinion. The English and French politicians constituting the Reform alliance of the United Province of Canada, however, felt differently, and after five long years of negotiations led by Governor General James Bruce, Lord Elgin (1811–1863), the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was hammered out with the reluctant Americans. For a period of ten years it was agreed that there would be free trade in fish, lumber, wheat, and furs between the two jurisdictions, as well as between the Maritime Provinces and the United States.[115] It was an early example of intercolonial cooperation that would set the pattern for the future.

Reciprocity remained a vexed issue, however, and when the time for renegotiation arrived, the Americans favoured abrogation. This was in part a response to British actions that had appeared to favour the South during the course of the Civil War that had only recently concluded. At a convention hosted by the Detroit Board of Trade 12–14 July 1865, the American Consul General in Canada, John Potter, wrote to William Seward, American Secretary of State, proposing that the Convention be used to end the treaty in order to damage the Canadian economy, and so hasten the day when Canadians would beg to become Americans.[116] The following year, the Americans

followed through and abrogated the treaty with British North America. Besides being a punitive measure, the governing Republican Party in the United States also believed that the imposition of high tariffs on Canadian goods would serve to boost America's own industrial expansion. There was no place in this political philosophy for free trade.[117] The insecurity of the colonists' economic position throughout this decade reinforced the notion that strength was to be found in some kind of union between the provinces themselves, with expansion westward equally essential, at least for the United Canadas. To that end, the Royal Canadian Rifles were sent to bring order and stability to the Red River District in 1857, securing the border between the British and American territories, and in 1858 the Crown Colony of British Columbia was established.[118]

The author of this pamphlet, William Merritt, had fought as a commissioned officer at the Battle of Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane. After the War of 1812, he became a merchant and financier. He was arguably the principal promoter of the plan to build the Welland Canal linking Lakes Erie and Ontario, as well as a St Lawrence 'canal', anticipating by more than a hundred years the construction of the St Lawrence Seaway. An enthusiastic advocate for railways in Upper Canada, he also urged the building of a suspension bridge over the Niagara Gorge – all in the name of improving Canadian commerce. He exerted tremendous influence over Lord Elgin in support for the reciprocity treaty with the United States.[119]

56 Kell Brothers, *Proposed Tubular Bridge, for Crossing the Niagara Gorge.* Published by John Weale, 1860.

57 Great Western Railway of Canada. *Reply of the President and Directors to the Report of the Committee of Investigation.* London, 1861.

58 British Columbia and Canadian Pacific Railway Album, 1886.

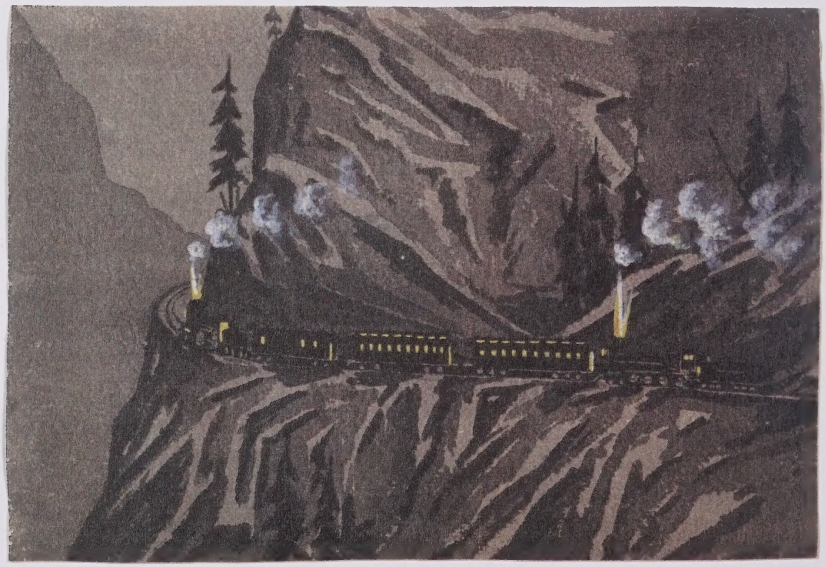
If there were a road to Confederation, it was laid on 'ribbons of steel'. Lithographs like this large one, with an artist's rendition of a proposed tubular bridge parallel to the existing Niagara Railway Suspension Bridge, confirmed what most British North American politicians knew only too well: that the main thrust of trade in the decades before

Confederation was north-south rather than east-west. The world's first working train suspension bridge was built over the Niagara Gorge, and operated from 1855 to 1897. As long as merchants saw their natural connections along a north-south axis, as shown in this hand-coloured image of two trains running between Toronto and Buffalo, the union of the British colonies would remain elusive, and the threat of American annexation an irresistible possibility.[120] The map from the *Reply* of the Great Western Railway only served to reinforce the notion that the natural lines of trade were in fact between Canadian and American cities, rather than within the British colonies. Similar lines operated between Montréal and New York as well as Saint John and Boston by other firms.

Some Canadian statesmen, like Francis Hincks (1807–1885), and British Members of Parliament such as Edward Watkin (1819–1901) had the foresight to appreciate that an intercolonial railway was essential to the survival of the Canadas and the Maritime provinces as distinct political realities.[121] Many merchants in Britain dreamt of even grander schemes, with a rail line crossing the vast expanse of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, whereby British goods might reach the Orient more easily.[122] Logistical concerns also made the project highly desirable. Britain was still principally responsible for the defence of her territories in the New World; without a railway to

transport troops from the ice-free port of Halifax, the interior of the territory was vulnerable to American incursions. Not all British politicians, however, favoured subsidizing such an enterprise. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Gladstone, believed that the colonies should be encouraged to be ruggedly self-sufficient, and viewed any extension of a Grand Trunk line using British money as an assault on private enterprise.[123]

After the imposition of union on Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, the British Colonial Office cooled to the idea of enforcing further political union on the rest of its North American jurisdictions.[124] With the voluntary foundation of the British North American Association, however, in January of 1862 (at the suggestion of the Nova Scotian Joseph Howe), the idea of a federal union began to gain traction. Not surprisingly, among the Association's most influential members were representatives of the Grand Trunk Railway who, together with other British and Canadian railroad barons and industrialists, favoured some sort of formal alliance.[125] Writing to John A. Macdonald, sometime premier of the United Canadas, Joseph Nelson, secretary of the BNAA noted that 'the thick stack of memorials he managed to obtain had brought great satisfaction to the Duke of Newcastle and had helped grind down the opposition of Gladstone.'[126] Though fraught with many difficulties, by the early 1860s the parallel projects of building the intercolonial railway and Confederation came to be conflated in the political imagination, both in Britain and her colonies.[127]



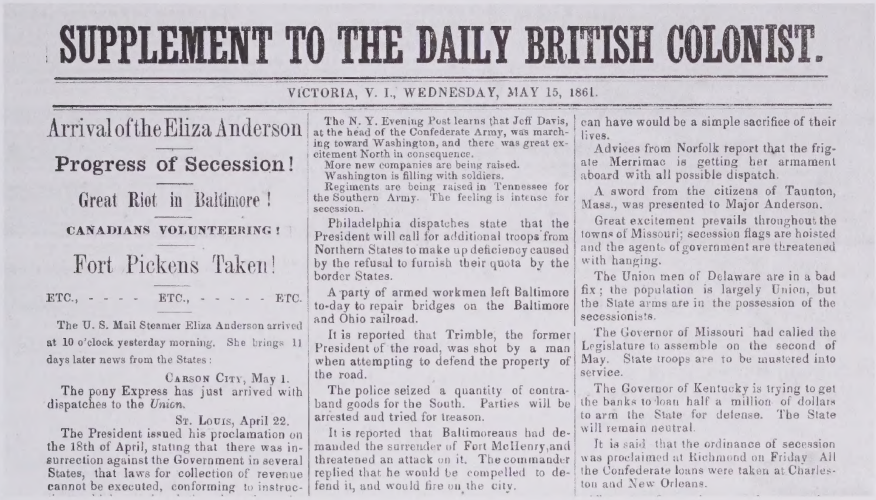
When the day finally arrived in March of 1867, the British Parliament committed itself to underwriting an intercolonial railway by a vote of 247 to 67. It also succeeded in imbedding in the Canadian constitutional mentality the idea that government-led public works were essential to nation-building.[128] The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, which finally bound the new Dominion from sea to sea, was the direct result of this precedent. This album of watercolours was executed by one of the first passengers on the CPR's transcontinental service, running from Montréal to Port Moody, which began at the end of June 1886. It contains fourteen individual works of art, possibly executed by one Mr Alfred Peacock, depicting the scenery of British Columbia as well as details of life along the rail lines, including snow sheds and hotels. On display is an early passenger train making its way through Kicking Horse Pass in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. With a ruling gradient of 4.5 percent, the original railway line descending from the Alberta summit to the town of Field, British Columbia was known as 'The Big Hill', the steepest stretch of any mainline railroad in all of North America.

59 William Notman & Son. Album of Photographs of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Vancouver? Circa 1890.

Before immigrating to Montréal, William Notman (1826–1891) had been an amateur photographer in his native Scotland. His first professional commission in Canada was from the Grand Trunk Railway, which hired him in 1858 to photograph the construction of its Victoria Bridge. Notman's exceptional work quickly came to the attention of Queen Victoria who honoured him with the title of 'Photographer to the Queen'. While portraiture formed the core of his business, with many of the Fathers of Confederation his clients, Notman also became very well known for his views of Canadian scenery. His albums and loose pictures were sold in hotels and train stations, catering to the interests of travellers as well as the local population who had not yet mastered the relatively new art of photography. Among his firm's famous 'scenes' were these albumen prints taken throughout western Canada during the period of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. William Van Horne (1843–1915), who became President of the CPR in 1888, recognized the advertising potential of photography and engaged Notman and Son to document the western territories through

which the new railway ran. Notman's eldest son, William McFarlane (1857–1913), first captured these iconic images of pristine wilderness, new settlements, as well as the Indigenous population in 1884. He returned to the West seven times between 1887 and 1909, and this particular album is the result of one of those photo expeditions.[129] Whether the sensitive and powerful images he recorded were taken from the decks of steamer ships circumnavigating Newfoundland, from carriages travelling through Québec, or from the cabooses of CPR trains cutting their way through the boundless Prairies, they reveal a nation in its infancy that dared to reach from sea to sea. These remarkable photographs are one part of a large body of work that, as one scholar has noted, reflect 'the optimistic spirit of the early years of Confederation. This was an age of vitality, when opportunity was seized on every hand. Men with [Notman's] outlook, individuals with unbounded faith in the future, brought about a union of the provinces as a prelude to greater things.'[130]

60 *Supplement to the Daily British Colonist*. Victoria, Vancouver Island, 1861.



SUPPLEMENT TO THE DAILY BRITISH COLONIST.

VICTORIA, V. I., WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1861.

Arrival of the Eliza Anderson

Progress of Secession!

Great Riot in Baltimore!

CANADIANS VOLUNTEERING!

Fort Pickens Taken!

ETC., - - - - ETC., - - - - - ETC.

The U. S. Mail Steamer Eliza Anderson arrived at 10 o'clock yesterday morning. She brings 11 days later news from the States:

CARSON CITY, May 1.

The pony Express has just arrived with dispatches to the *Union*.

ST. LOUIS, April 22.

The President issued his proclamation on the 18th of April, stating that there was insurrection against the Government in several States, that laws for collection of revenue cannot be executed, conforming to instruc-

The N. Y. Evening Post learns that Jeff Davis, at the head of the Confederate Army, was marching toward Washington, and there was great excitement North in consequence.

More new companies are being raised.

Washington is filling with soldiers.

Regiments are being raised in Tennessee for the Southern Army. The feeling is intense for secession.

Philadelphia dispatches state that the President will call for additional troops from Northern States to make up deficiency caused by the refusal to furnish their quota by the border States.

A party of armed workmen left Baltimore to-day to repair bridges on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

It is reported that Trimble, the former President of the road, was shot by a man when attempting to defend the property of the road.

The police seized a quantity of contraband goods for the South. Parties will be arrested and tried for treason.

It is reported that Baltimoreans had demanded the surrender of Fort McHenry, and threatened an attack on it. The commander replied that he would be compelled to defend it, and would fire on the city.

can have would be a simple sacrifice of their lives.

Advices from Norfolk report that the frigate Merrimac is getting her armament aboard with all possible dispatch.

A sword from the citizens of Taunton, Mass., was presented to Major Anderson.

Great excitement prevails throughout the towns of Missouri; secession flags are hoisted and the agents of government are threatened with hanging.

The Union men of Delaware are in a bad fix; the population is largely Union, but the State arms are in the possession of the secessionists.

The Governor of Missouri had called the Legislature to assemble on the second of May. State troops are to be mustered into service.

The Governor of Kentucky is trying to get the banks to loan half a million of dollars to arm the State for defense. The State will remain neutral.

It is said that the ordinance of secession was proclaimed at Richmond on Friday. All the Confederate loans were taken at Charleston and New Orleans.

This supplement to the *Daily British Colonist* was issued on 15 May 1861, less than a month after the American Civil War began, and provides a brief overview of the hostilities to that moment. There was immediate interest in the War among the youth of Canada, and by the time this supplement was published, some six hundred men from Québec had already volunteered with the Union Army. The Civil War would prove to be one of the greatest challenges the independent British provinces would face. Despite the fact that the majority of Canadian volunteers – estimated between 33,000 and 55,000 – fought for the Union, there was strong feeling in the Republic that Britain and her colonies were actually sympathetic to the Confederate cause. So great was the growing antipathy south of the Canadas' border that in August 1863, D'Arcy Magee called for an immediate arming of the colony in the face of possible aggression by the Union Army.[131]

Antagonism towards the colonies was deepened by two separate events that appeared to confirm the true British predisposition in the face of their official neutrality. The first was the Canadian response to a coordinated series of bank heists which unfolded in the town of St Albans, Vermont in October of 1864, during the Québec Conference itself. The thieves, some twenty Confederate agents who had been living in Canada East, crossed the border into Vermont, and then immediately returned with their stolen horde of $84,000. Although they were arrested, Canadian officials refused

to extradite them to the United States, and the men were eventually released by a Montréal judge who claimed that he had no jurisdiction in the matter.[132] One American editorial expressed the feelings of many in the Union: 'the sooner open war is declared with our Northern neighbors, the better.'[133] Even Queen Victoria appeared to fear for her colonies, confiding to her journal 'the impossibility of our being able to hold Canada, but, we must struggle for it.'[134] After the death of Abraham Lincoln on 15 April 1865, it was commonly held that the assassination had been planned in Canada East. President Andrew Johnson issued a proclamation that was widely published in newspapers across the United States and the British colonies, indicting Canada for its tacit participation in the crime by granting safe haven to the conspirators. 'Whereas it appears from evidence in the bureau of military justice', it began, 'that the atrocious murder of the late President Abraham Lincoln and the attempted assassination of the Honourable William H. Seward, Secretary of State, were incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Virginia; Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George Saunders, William C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the government of the United States, harbored in Canada ...'[135] Charles Creighton Hazewell spoke for many Unionists when he wrote in the July 1865 issue of *The Atlantic* that 'there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the assassination plot was formed in Canada, as some of the vilest miscreants of the Secession side had been allowed to live in that country ... But it is not probable that British subjects had anything to do with any conspiracy of this kind. The Canadian error was in allowing the scum of the Secession to abuse the "right of hospitality" through the pursuit of hostile action against us from the territory of a neutral.'[136] Given Britain's reluctance to defend her colonies against a potentially vengeful United States, it became even more incumbent upon British North American politicians to find a domestic solution to their own security.[137]

61 Great Britain. Colonial Office. *Union of the Colonies.* [London: s.n., 1865?].

In the 1850s and 1860s the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island periodically toyed with the idea of a Maritime Union, often with the encouragement of their British masters in the Colonial Office.[138] At the beginning of the summer of 1864, a change in government to the west of the Maritimes began to

alter their political options significantly. In that year, a coalition government was formed in the United Province of Canada under the direction of John A. Macdonald, George-Étienne Cartier (1814–1873), and George Brown (1818–1880) that was committed to constitutional reform and the general federation of all of the colonies. Knowing that the Maritime delegates were scheduled to gather later that autumn to discuss an exclusively Atlantic federation, Charles, Viscount Monck (1819–1894), the Governor General of Canada, wrote to the Atlantic lieutenant-governors asking if his delegates might also attend. He explained that 'the object of the Canadian Government is to ascertain whether the proposed Union [of the Maritime Provinces] may not be made to embrace the whole of the British North American Provinces.' In the Maritimes, where the idea of union was often a distraction from important local politics, Monck's letter reignited the issue.[139] Given the great reluctance on the part of the Prince Edward Islanders to participate, it was considered politic to hold the conference in Charlottetown itself, from 1-9 September of that year – while the internationally-famous Nichols Olympic Circus was also in town. The Canadian delegates were technically present only as observers, but quickly became the key players in the conference as they laid out their vision for a greater federation that would join together all of the provinces of British North America in one country. The presence of Cartier, the great Québec statesman, helped to assuage fears that local concerns and character might become lost in Confederation, while the western delegates were able to articulate a fairly clear plan for the relationship between the federal and provincial jurisdictions in any proposed union. Charlottetown rightly considers itself the birthplace of Canada since it was here that the journey that culminated in Confederation on 1 July 1867 formally began.

On display is the report of the Charlottetown Conference written by the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Richard Graves MacDonnell (1814–1881) to Edward Cardwell (1813–1886), the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is clear from his observations that there was cautious optimism among the delegates that the Canadian plan might indeed be viable, while recognizing at the same time the serious reservations held by the representatives from Prince Edward Island itself. Nevertheless, sufficient agreement had been reached to continue the discussions at Québec later that year with representatives of the Canadas, the Maritimes, and the colony of Newfoundland all participating.

62 *Report of Resolutions adopted at a Conference of Delegates from the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Colonies of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, held at the City of Québec, 10th Oct., 1864, as the Basis of a proposed Confederation of those Provinces and Colonies.* [Québec: s.n.,], 1864.

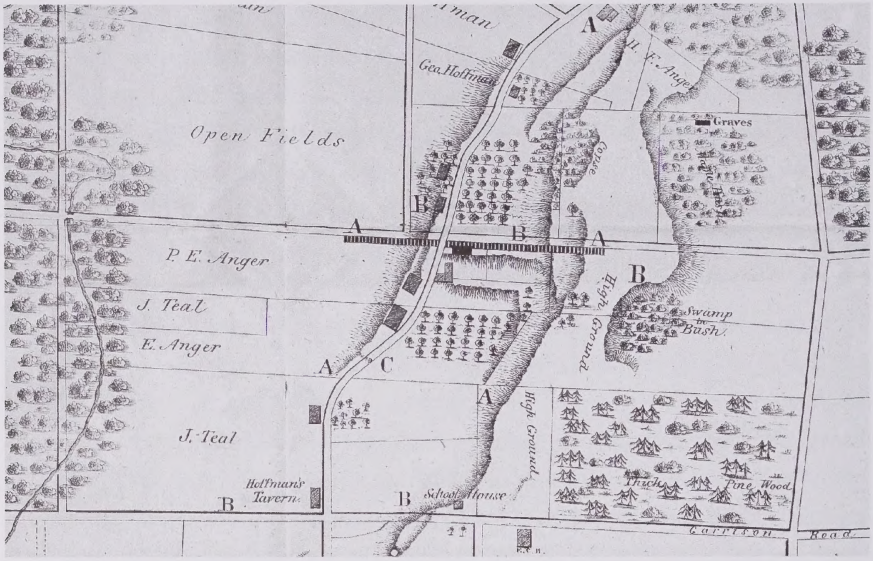
The autumn of 1864 was one of the rainiest in the history of the City of Québec. Perhaps it was those very meteorological circumstances that helped keep the colonial delegates from across British North America indoors long enough to hammer out this foundational document that would provide the basis for the British North America Act – the Act that would finally create 'Canada' in 1867. From 10-27 October 1864, thirty-three representatives from Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the United Province of Canada met in the old colonial legislative building, debating the various articles that would eventually be published as seventy-two resolutions, the last of which was the promise to build the long-awaited intercolonial railway. John A. Macdonald opened the meeting on 10 October by reminding the assembly of the fundamental resolution to which the Maritime delegates had agreed at Charlottetown: 'That the best interests and present future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a federal union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several Provinces.'[140] It was the last part of that resolution that would prove the greatest challenge, of course. How was the distinct French culture of Canada East to be preserved in an overwhelmingly English country? What would the relationship between the constituent parts be in a 'federal' union? How would jealously-guarded local powers be reduced so that they would not threaten a strong national parliament, while simultaneously preserving regional interests? How would the Upper House reflect the concerns of the regions without falling into the trap of 'state's rights' which almost all of the delegates viewed with horror in the wake of the American Civil War? The debates were vigorous, and the conference was actually extended in order to achieve the goal of union which the delegates believed was within their grasp. In the end, Prince Edward Island opted out of the process for the time being, while the enthusiastic delegates from Newfoundland knew that any decisions made at Québec would not be binding at home. The absence of the two islands, however, could not slow the momentum or ruin the grand design of the project.[141] (Prince Edward Island would ultimately join Confederation in 1873, with Newfoundland following in 1949.)

Proof-sheets of the resolutions were hastily printed on 28 October in Québec and sent to Montréal where many of the delegates to the Conference had adjourned in a triumphant western tour that would include Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto, and Niagara Falls. Corrections were duly made and the text confirmed.[142] It would be three long years, however, filled with reversals and disappointment, intrigue and deception, before this document, drafted at Québec, would see itself transformed into the British North America Act.

63 Alexander Somerville (1811-1885). *Narrative of the Fenian Invasion of Canada*. Hamilton: J. Lyght, 1866.

For many in British North America, the final push towards Confederation came in the unexpected form of Irish Republicanism, specifically the Fenian Invasions of 1866. The Fenian Brotherhood, an organization of Irish nationals, first met in New York City in 1858 and many went on to fight in the Civil War for the Union Army. A Canadian branch, known as the Hibernians, was also established by Michael Murphy and W.B. Linehan, the publishers of the *Irish Canadian*, the editorial policy of which, in the months leading up to Confederation, remained solidly annexationist.[143] The Fenians saw the Civil War as a prelude to their ultimate goal: the liberation of Ireland from Britain, a feat they hoped to accomplish by taking hostage the British colonies in North America.[144] As incredible as the plan might seem, there was fairly widespread support for it among many citizens of the northern United States who were still angry over Britain's apparent violation of neutrality during the late war. Long before any actual invasion occurred, *The New York Herald* openly reported that 'their first step will be to seize Canada with an army of one hundred thousand fighting men ...The Fenians will establish a provisional government, and operate for the deliverance of Ireland. The United States will play the neutral game, precisely like Great Britain in our contest with the rebels ...England will find before many years, that the neutrality game is one that two nations can play at.'[145] A failed attack on Campobello Island in April of 1866 was preceded by a Fenian proclamation to the citizens of New Brunswick a month earlier. It claimed that 'Republican institutions have become a necessity to the peace and prosperity of your Province. English policy, represented by the obnoxious project of Confederation, is making its last efforts to bind you in effete forms of Monarchism.'[146]

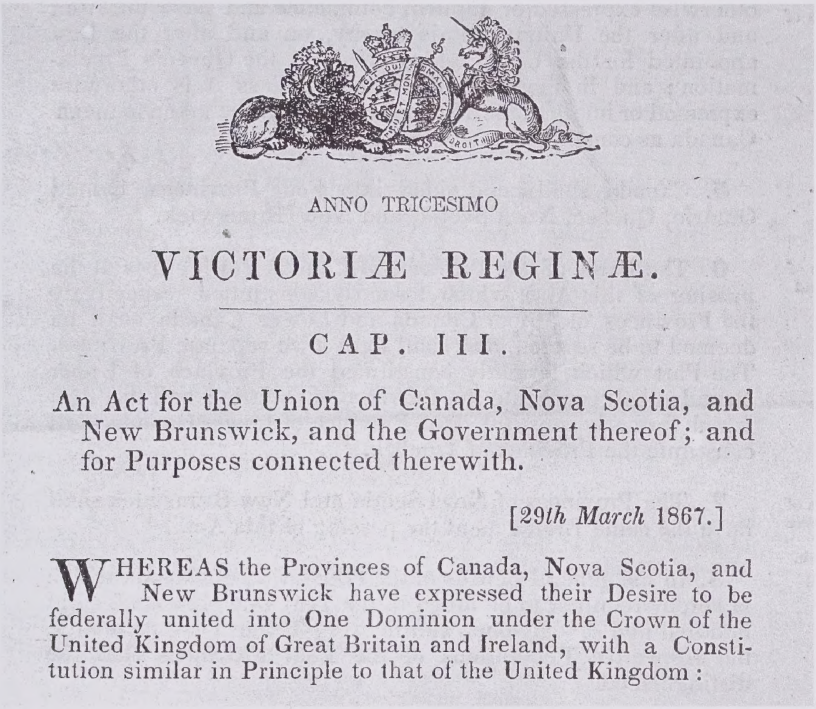
More successful raids did, however, follow in the Canadas. Fort Erie and Ridgeway in the Niagara Peninsula were attacked by men wearing the Union blue in June, while Pigeon Hill



Map of the field of combat at the battle of the Ridgeway, 1866.

near the Vermont border saw action slightly later.[147] Trinity College students from the University of Toronto were among those who fought and died defending the Province at Ridgeway. John A. Macdonald, then Attorney General of the United Province of Canada, suspended *habeas corpus* and delivered the captured invaders to Militia General Courts Martial, an act which incensed the Americans. In response to this volatile situation, Massachusetts Congressman Nathaniel Banks (1816–1894) introduced a Bill on 2 July 1866 to change American neutrality in favour of the Fenians, while simultaneously including a provision for Canada and the Maritimes to join the United States as four new states and two territories.[148] Although the Bill had no real hope of success, Macdonald took advantage of it to create a ground swell of support for Confederation among those who were still wavering on the issue. By October of 1866, the new British Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon (1831–1890) had written to Lord Derby (1799–1868), the British Prime Minister, explaining that Confederation had 'become a necessity to us and it was a question of confederation amongst themselves, or of absorption by the U.S.'[149] While the two jurisdictions boasted the world's longest undefended border, the tensions between them beginning with the War of 1812 and continuing with the Rebellions of 1837, the Civil War and, lastly, the Fenian invasions, had made the boundary more of a palpable reality than it had been at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

64 *An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Government thereof and for Purposes Connected therewith.* [The British North America Act.] Ottawa: Printed by Malcolm Cameron, Law printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, [1867].



ANNO TRICESIMO

VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

CAP. III.

An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof; and for Purposes connected therewith.

[29*th March* 1867.]

WHEREAS the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their Desire to be federally united into One Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom:

The uncertainty that cast a pall over negotiations between the colonies in North America in the wake of the Québec Conference appeared to be without resolution until delegates finally agreed to one last set of consultations, held in London at the end of 1866, under the direction of the Imperial Government itself. After a long delay in the arrival of the Canadian delegates, John A. Macdonald of Kingston quickly emerged as the master broker, and was recognized as such by both his colleagues and the bureaucrats at the Secretariat of State for the Colonies. The delegates from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Canadas first met together on 4 December, and the Québec resolutions were affirmed with little fanfare; they would become the foundation for the British North America Act.

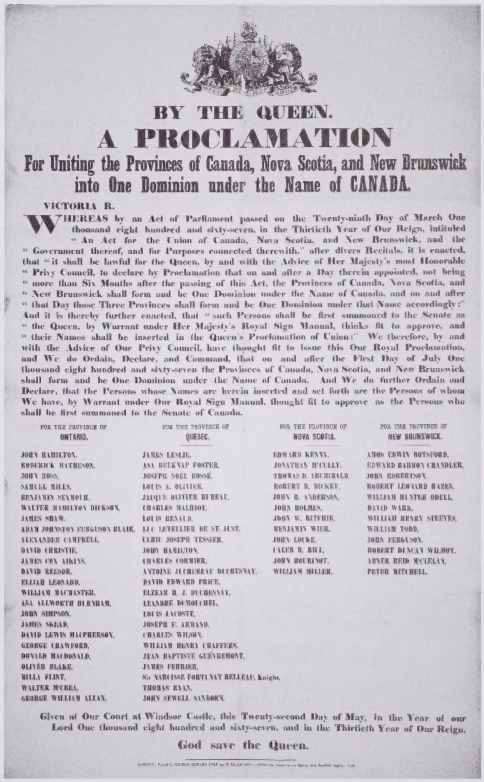
Among the remaining contentious issues were the final division of certain powers between the federal and provincial jurisdictions; the composition of the proposed Upper House, or Senate; and whether its members should be elected or appointed for life or a term. The great fear was that an unelected body, with power of veto over the House of Commons, would be the antithesis of responsible government itself. In the end, negotiations proceeded expeditiously, and Macdonald delivered the 'London Resolutions' to Lord Carnarvon late in the afternoon of Christmas Eve. In the New Year several other concerns had to be dealt with, not least of which was how the country should be known. On 2 February, the Maritime representatives suggested the new nation should simply be called 'Canada' with the two provinces already bearing that name designated 'Ontario' and 'Québec'. The rank of the country was also a matter of discussion, with the delegates suggesting their preference that it should be styled the 'United Kingdom of Canada'. This title, however, was not acceptable to the Colonial Secretariat which found it both pretentious and likely to offend American sensibilities. In this, the Secretariat was prescient. Even without the designation of 'Kingdom' in its title, the American Congress ventured that a Canadian constitutional monarchy was actually a contravention of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, in which the Republic had committed itself to shielding the western hemisphere from European imperialism.[150] In the end, it was decided that the country would be known as the 'Dominion of Canada', although even Queen Victoria felt that the title 'Dominion' added little to the dignity of the country's name.[151] It also fell to the attorneys general of the provinces during this period to turn the Québec resolutions into draft legislation for consideration by the British Parliament.[152] With the delegates observing from the visitors' gallery, debate on the British North America Bill finally began in the House of Lords on 19 February and passed on the 26th. It proceeded to the House of Commons the same day where it passed, with few interventions, on 8 March, and received royal assent two weeks later. Canada, a self-governing country within the British Empire, would come into existence by royal proclamation the following 1 July.

The Canadian printer of the BNA Act, Malcolm Cameron (1808–1876), was also a politician, publisher, and entrepreneur. Although he was a moderate Reformer, he volunteered to fight under Allan MacNab during the Rebellion of 1837. He later sat in the Provincial Legislature of Upper Canada where he stridently opposed the system of Clergy Reserves. In 1853 he was appointed Postmaster General, and ten years later he assumed the position of Queen's Printer which he continued to hold after Confederation.[153]

The Fisher copy of the BNA Act originally belonged to John McNab (ca. 1824–1871), a Scottish immigrant and resident of Toronto, who served as Crown Attorney for York and Peel Counties. In that position he prosecuted recently captured Fenian prisoners during their trials in 1866. To assist justices of the peace working throughout the colony, in 1865 he wrote a very well-received handbook, *The Magistrate's Manual*. McNab was active in the local Presbyterian Church and was secretary of the Toronto Temperance Reform Society when it incorporated in 1851.[154]

65 *A Proclamation for the Uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into one Dominion under the Name of Canada.* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1867.

While the Fathers of Confederation are rightly honoured for creating the constitution that established Canada, its execution was ultimately the prerogative of Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom and the British territories 'beyond the seas'. Her interest in the matter, however, seemed vaguely perfunctory, since she only parenthetically records in her diary on 22 May 1867, 'after luncheon saw the Duke of Marlborough, before holding a Council for the declaration of the N. American Province under the new name of Canada.'[155]



BY THE QUEEN.

A PROCLAMATION

For Uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into One Dominion under the Name of CANADA.

VICTORIA R.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed on the Twenty-ninth Day of March One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign, intituled "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the "Government thereof, and for Purposes connected therewith," after divers Recitals, it is enacted, that "it shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice of Her Majesty's most Honorable "Privy Council, to declare by Proclamation that on and after a Day therein appointed, not being "more than Six Months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and "New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada, and on and after "that Day those Three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that Name accordingly:" And it is thereby further enacted, that "such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as "the Queen, by Warrant under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, thinks fit to approve, and "their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamation of Union:" We therefore, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, have thought fit to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, and We do Ordain, Declare, and Command, that on and after the First Day of July One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the Name of Canada. And We do further Ordain and Declare, that the Persons whose Names are herein inserted and set forth are the Persons of whom We have, by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, thought fit to approve as the Persons who shall be first summoned to the Senate of Canada.

FOR THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.	FOR THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.	FOR THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.	FOR THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.
JOHN HAMILTON.	JAMES LESLIE.	EDWARD KENNY.	AMOS EDWIN BOTSFORD.
RODERICK MATHESON.	ASA BURNHAM FOSTER.	JONATHAN McCULLY.	EDWARD BARRON CHANDLER.
JOHN ROSS.	JOSEPH NOEL RENAUD.	THOMAS D. CRUIKSHANK.	JOHN ROBERTSON.
SAMUEL HALES.	LOUIS A. OLIVIER.	ROBERT B. DICKEY.	ROBERT EDWARD HAZEN.
BENJAMIN SEYMOUR.	JACQUES OLIVIER BUREAU.	JOHN M. ANDERSON.	WILLIAM HUNTER ODELL.
WALTER HAMILTON DICKSON.	CHARLES MALHIOT.	JOHN HOLMES.	DAVID WARK.
JAMES SHAW.	LOUIS RENAUD.	JOHN W. RITCHIE.	WILLIAM HENRY STEVENS.
ADAM JOHNSTON FERGUSON BLAIR.	JAC. ANTHELME DE ST. JUST.	BENJAMIN WIER.	WILLIAM TODD.
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.	ULRIC JOSEPH TESSIER.	JOHN LOCKE.	JOHN FERGUSON.
DAVID CHRISTIE.	JOHN HAMILTON.	CALEB R. HALL.	ROBERT DUNCAN WILMOT.
JAMES COX ARKINS.	CHARLES COURMIER.	JOHN DOURIOT.	ARMER REID McCLELAN.
DAVID REESOR.	ANTOINE JACQUBRAZ DUMOUSSAY.	WILLIAM MILLER.	PETER MITCHELL.
ELIJAH LEONARD.	DAVID EDWARD PRICE.		
WILLIAM MACDONNELL.	ELZEAR H. J. DUCHESNAY.		
ASA ALLWORTH BURNHAM.	EDMUND DOMOUCHEL.		
JOHN SIMPSON.	LOUIS LACOSTE.		
JAMES SKEAD.	JOSEPH E. ARMAND.		
DAVID LEWIS MACPHERSON.	CHARLES WILSON.		
GEORGE CRAWFORD.	WILLIAM HENRY CHAPPERS.		
DONALD MACDONALD.	JEAN BAPTISTE SCHVREMONT.		
OLIVER BLAKE.	JAMES FERRIER.		
MILLS FLINT.	Sir NARCISSE FORTUNAT BELLEAU, Knight.		
WALTER MCRAE.	THOMAS RYAN.		
GEORGE WILLIAM ALLAN.	JOHN SEWELL SANBORN.		

Given at Our Court at Windsor Castle, this Twenty-second Day of May, in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, and in the Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

God save the Queen.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE EDWARD EYRE and WILLIAM [illegible] Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. 1867.

While the Fathers of Confederation are rightly honoured for creating the constitution that established Canada, its execution was ultimately the prerogative of Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom and the British territories 'beyond the seas'. Her interest in the matter, however, seemed vaguely perfunctory, since she only parenthetically records in her diary on 22 May 1867, 'after luncheon saw the Duke of Marlborough, before holding a Council for the declaration of the N. American Province under the new name of Canada.'[155]

This massive broadside recording her proclamation of Confederation measures an impressive 101 by 63 centimetres. It is not just its size, however, that makes the preservation of this rather ephemeral document noteworthy; it is the fact that it is the only known copy of the royal proclamation to have survived from outside of Canada. The Fisher copy was

posted at the Market Cross of Lanark, Scotland by William Bryan Allan, Deputy Clerk of the Shire, on 29 May 1867. Copies were distributed throughout British North America in the months leading up to 1 July, but the Fisher broadside, with detailed manuscript notes on the verso in the hand of Mr Allan himself, is the clearest evidence that the proclamation had been widely and publicly disseminated throughout Great Britain. A glance at the Queen's diary entry for 1 July 1867 may prove similarly disappointing for Canadians hoping for some greater enthusiasm on Victoria's part with the arrival of the great day itself. No mention of Confederation is made.

66 William Dickson (1819–1908). Journal and Ledger of William Dickson. Renfrew & Goderich, 1857–1872.

William Dickson immigrated to Upper Canada from his home in Galashiel, Scotland in 1834. A shoemaker by trade, he eventually settled in Renfrew where he began to keep this account book in 1857, recording transactions with local customers. In 1864 he moved with his family to Goderich where he had accepted the position of turnkey in the county jail. After that event, his account book becomes a journal of life in and around Huron County on the eve of Confederation. One of his longest entries is for 1 July 1867 which begins, 'Confederation morning, the Kingdom of Canada is now in existence. May it prove a blessing to the people.' He goes on to describe the launching of a new vessel that day on Lake Huron which bears the name of the new Province of Ontario, 'the proudest name in the confederate Kingdom of Canada.' He saves his highest praise for the end of the entry, however, when he observes that 'best of all, not a single committal to the gaol took place, through the amusements of the day.' Dickson's journal is also noteworthy for containing an extensive record of his impressions of Nicholas Melady, who, in 1869, was the last prisoner publicly executed in Canada.

67 William James Topley (1845–1930). Portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald. Ottawa: Topley, 1883.

William James Topley was the pre-eminent studio photographer of the nation's capital in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He was probably introduced to the art by his

mother who had bought him his first photographic equipment while still a teenaged boy living in Aylmer, Québec. By the time he was eighteen he was working as an itinerant photographer throughout the province of Canada West, soon to become Ontario. In 1864, he was apprenticed to William Notman of Montréal, who four years later appointed him the head of his new studio in Ottawa. Since Topley's offices were situated immediately across the street from the new Houses of Parliament he attracted large numbers of politicians, eager to have their portraits preserved for posterity. In 1875, he struck out on his own and his skills with the camera were soon renowned across the country. His photographs of immigrants arriving at the port of Québec are still considered iconic, and he has the distinction of having photographed every politician who became Canadian Prime Minister from Macdonald to William Lyon Mackenzie King.[156]

Topley's more famous portrait of Macdonald appears on the Canadian $10 bill, but this particular image of Canada's first Prime Minister is not without its admirers. In 1883, while visiting Québec City, Macdonald was seen wearing a coat that his supporters felt was unworthy of someone of his dignity. A new fur coat was purchased for him from G.R. Renfrew & Co. (the antecedent to Holt-Renfrew), which Macdonald is seen wearing in this evocative portrait.[157]

68 The Fathers of Confederation. Circa 1890.

This lithograph was done after the famous painting commissioned by the Dominion Government in 1883 from Robert Harris (1849–1919), and destined for the original Houses of Parliament in Ottawa. Since the work appeared relatively early in his career, it firmly established Harris's reputation as one of the finest portrait artists of his age.

Harris had originally intended to paint the Fathers at the Charlottetown Conference, but it was decided by the Department of Public Works that Québec would be the better setting, since a further twelve delegates had participated in the negotiations there. Although Harris agreed to a fee of four thousand dollars for the Charlottetown concept, he did not alter the financial arrangements, despite the extra work involved in painting twelve more portraits, because he did not want to appear to be grasping. Harris consoled himself in his mistaken belief that the copyright would eventually be lucrative. He met with all of the subjects who were still living, and consulted with the families of those who were deceased, to get a sense of the character of the faces he was to immortalize. (Harris had actually seen the Fathers in 1864 when he was a fifteen-year-old orchestra performer at one of their dinners in Charlottetown.)[158] The original cartoon was drafted in the summer of 1883, while Harris was in Charlottetown, and the finished canvas was first exhibited to the public in April of the following year at the Royal Canadian Academy exhibition in Montréal, with delivery to Ottawa taking place the next month.[159]

A photograph of the mammoth canvas was taken by James Ashfield, and as Sir John A. Macdonald communicated to the Governor General, copyright was vested in the government, supposedly with Harris's approval. In fact, Harris had assumed that the original arrangements remained in force, by which he retained copyright to the image,

as he explained in a letter to the Minister of Public Works, Sir Hector Langevin, in July of 1884. Publishers were soon reproducing the image, and each one seemed an infringement from Harris's point of view, though he did not press the matter, hoping copyright would eventually be resolved in his favour.[160] It was presumably from one of those original photographs that lithographs, like the Fisher copy, were eventually made. The painting, which was originally called 'Meeting of the Delegates of British North America, to Settle Terms of Confederation, Quebec, October 1864' was destroyed by the fire that consumed the Parliament in 1916. As a result, these early lithographs are of particular importance in preserving the archival record of an original image that no longer exists. A replica was commissioned by the government in 1964 and painted by Rex Woods as a gift to the nation for Centennial Year with three additional figures added to the scene. The altered copy now hangs in the Centre Block of Parliament.

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

MRS. BRITANNIA.—"IS IT POSSIBLE, MY DEAR, THAT YOU HAVE EVER GIVEN YOUR COUSIN JONATHAN ANY ENCOURAGEMENT?"

MISS CANADA.—"ENCOURAGEMENT! CERTAINLY NOT, MAMMA. I HAVE TOLD HIM WE CAN *NEVER* BE UNITED."

From J.W. Bengough. A Caricature History of Canadian Politics. *Toronto: The Grip, 1886.*

G
3401
P3
1894

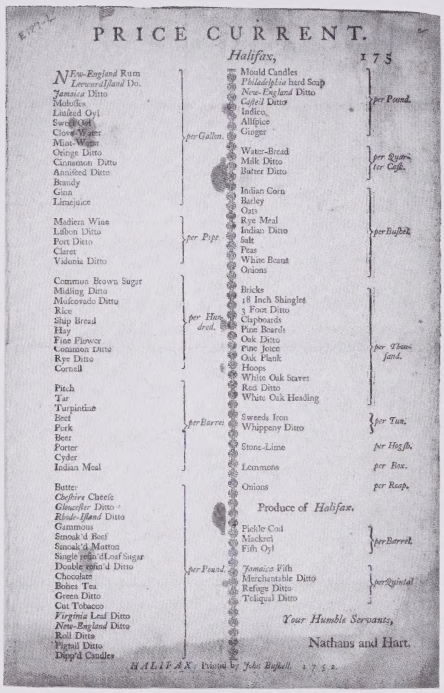
Map of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its connections. [S.l. : s.n., 189-?].

Map of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its connections. [S.l. : s.n., 189-?].

Part VII. The Struggle to Belong

It has become a truism in Canadian history that we are a nation of immigrants. With the exception of the Native peoples, who thousands of years ago also came from another part of the globe, Canada's population has grown because of those who have followed the promise that these shores have offered over the past four hundred years. It has become part of the psychology of the nation to pride ourselves on our 'cultural mosaic' in which the traditions of our ancestors are honoured and retained, in contrast to the model of the melting pot south of the border. The 'hyphenated Canadian' has long been part of that tradition. Despite that national mythology, the documents in this case demonstrate that each new wave of immigrants has struggled to belong and leave its mark on their new home.

69 Nathan Nathans (d. 1778) and Naphtali Hart. *Price Current*. Halifax: John Bushell, 1752.



PRICE CURRENT.

Halifax, 175

New-England Rum
Leeward Island Do.
Jamaica Ditto
Melaſſes
Linſeed Oyl
Sweet Oil
Clove-Water
Mint-Water
Orange Ditto
Cinnamon Ditto
Annifeed Ditto
Brandy
Gin
Limejuice

Madiera Wine
Lisbon Ditto
Port Ditto
Claret
Vidonia Ditto

Common Brown Sugar
Middling Ditto
Muſcovado Ditto
Rice
Ship Bread
Hay
Fine Flower
Common Ditto
Rye Ditto
Cornell

Pitch
Tar
Turpintine
Beef
Pork
Beer
Porter
Cyder
Indian Meal

Butter
Cheſhire Cheeſe
Glouceſter Ditto
Rhode-Iſland Ditto
Cammous
Smoak'd Beef
Smoak'd Mutton
Single refin'd Loaf Sugar
Double refin'd Ditto
Chocolate
Bohea Tea
Green Ditto
Cut Tobacco
Virginia Leaf Ditto
New-England Ditto
Roll Ditto
Pigtail Ditto
Dipp'd Candles

Mould Candles
Philadelphia hard Soap
New-England Ditto
Caſtile Ditto
Indico
Allſpice
Ginger

Water-Bread
Milk Ditto
Batter Ditto

Indian Corn
Barley
Oats
Rye Meal
Indian Ditto
Salt
Peas
White Beans
Onions

Bricks
18 Inch Shingles
3 Foot Ditto
Clapboards
Pine Boards
Oak Ditto
Pine Joice
Oak Plank
Hoops
White Oak Staves
Red Ditto
White Oak Heading

Sweeds Iron
Whippany Ditto

Stone-Lime

Lemmons

Onions

Produce of *Halifax*.

Pickle Cod
Mackrel
Fish Oyl

Jamaica Fish
Merchantable Ditto
Refuge Ditto
Tellequal Ditto

Your Humble Servants,
Nathans and Hart.

HALIFAX, Printed by *John Bushell*, 1752.

This broadside is the third recorded document printed in Canada and the oldest still to be found within the country.[161] Nathan Nathans and Naphtali Hart were Jewish immigrants who moved from the American colonies to Halifax about 1751. Upon arrival, they almost immediately established a retail operation together in the town, with this printed blank form allowing vendors to fill in prices for everything supplied by the pair from lime juice to fish, as well as building materials like bricks. According to an advertisement in the *Halifax Gazette* of April 1752, the partners operated out of 'their dwelling house in Hollis St., opposite His Excellency's, for ready money or short credit.' The firm was actually short-lived, and dissolved in May of 1754, after which Hart returned to Newport, Rhode Island. Until the discovery of this document it had been believed that Aaron Hart was the first Jew to immigrate to British North America in 1763; clearly several were already living in Nova Scotia more than a decade earlier.[162]

At a time when 'two strange Jews' were not permitted to set up shop in Albany, New York, the town of Halifax was allowing them to ply their retail trade without requiring naturalization. In fact, before Nathans & Hart there had already been Nathans & Levy, 'joyntly concern'd in the Trade of the Shop,' until Isaac Levy's death in 1751. A number of other Jewish traders similarly made their home in Halifax after the establishment of the settlement in 1749. Like Hart, several hailed from Newport, Rhode Island including Israel Abrahams and the other Hart brothers, Abraham, Isaac, and Samuel. Abraham Andrews,

also an unnaturalised Jew, operated a shop in the city in 1752, while Mordecai Jones and John Franks were respectively described as 'shopkeeper' and 'retailer' there. Throughout the 1750s, members of the Jewish community accounted for some twenty per cent of all court cases heard in Halifax, demonstrating that they formed an important constituency within the city's merchant class, even though they represented only about one per cent of the general population.[163] Following the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765, which caused trade with New England to dwindle, so too did Jewish immigration to the colony. The failure of the early community to thrive, therefore, had more to do with economics than with local support. Nathan Nathans is interred in the Old Burying Ground in the centre of Halifax.[164]

The Boston native John Bushell (1715–1761) took over the printing establishment of his former partner, Bartholomew Green, in 1751 and the following year began publication of the *Halifax Gazette*.[165] This document represents one of his first printing efforts after settlement in the colony.

70 Partial Holograph Draft of a Petition by Alexander McLean to the Honourable Peter Hunter, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. [Elizabethtown, U.C., circa 1799].

The Jewish community in Halifax was established more than twenty-five years before the American Revolution would instigate the first great wave of refugee immigrants to British North America. After the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, those who had declared their support for the British Crown during the Revolution looked to new lands where they could live in relative peace and security, with the West Indies, Britain, and Canada figuring most prominently among their preferred destinations. Estimates of the number that fled north of the American border between the years 1783 and 1797 vary wildly from 50,000 to 100,000 persons.[166] During the War, Loyalists and Patriots were equally subject to harassment and ill-treatment depending on who enjoyed the upper hand at any given time throughout the hostilities. It was far more difficult if not impossible, however, for the exiles to exact restitution for the loss of home and property once they had left the United States. Their only recourse at that point was to plead with colonial officials for support, causing one author to refer rather waggishly to the Loyalists as 'Canada's first welfare recipients.'[167]

This draft of a petition for assistance is written in the hand of the Loyalist, Alexander McLean (1736–1810). In 1774, his family had followed their former pastor, the Reverend John Witherspoon (1723–1794), from Paisley, Scotland near to what is now Harpersfield, New York. Witherspoon became president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; McLean and his family, by contrast, would be forced from nine communities in the course of a single year for their self-professed loyalty to the Crown. McLean explains in his petition to the Upper Canadian Lieutenant-Governor Peter Hunter (1746–1805) that he had been driven off of his farm; his property had been ransacked; and he specifically complains about the theft of his wife's clothing and their books. He notes that he and his family were homeless until 1778 when they moved into the border territory where he served as a pilot for Loyalists making their way to Canada. With the conclusion of the War in 1781, he once again was driven from his land, and the family fled the United States by sailing up Lake Champlain until they reached Laprairie, Québec, with the Niagara peninsula their final intended destination. While crossing the St Lawrence during their escape, however, one of their boats took on water and soaked their precious cargo of books. They decided to stop and camp for six weeks in order that the volumes might be allowed to dry out properly, a choice which then forced them to winter near Elizabethtown (now Brockville). McLean, a silk-weaver by trade, eventually abandoned his plans to move on to Niagara and settled his family at Elizabethtown, across the river from, and within sight of, the Republic he had left.[168] The petition is a preamble to his request for the formal grant of the land he occupies as the proper reward to him and his descendants for their proven loyalty.

71 Loyalist Land Grant Register for the Eastern Townships, Québec, 1797.

This fair copy manuscript enumerates the names of Loyalists who settled throughout the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. Instead of assigning lands to separate individuals, as was the case elsewhere in the colony, grants in the Eastern Townships were made to a leader and his associates together. After the passage of the Constitutional Act of 1791, a minor land rush ensued in the area, with the majority of the three thousand new settlers emigrating from the United States. In some, though certainly not all cases, the immigrants were Loyalists. Many others who arrived, however, reportedly displayed no strong

feelings of nationality, but simply hoped to find free and more expansive land. On display are the names of those who claimed territory in the Townships of Brome, Polton, and Farnham. The leader of the Brome settlement, whose name appears at the head of the list, was one Asa Porter, described in the Township's original charter (issued in the name of King George III) as 'our well-beloved, late of Haverhill, in the State of New Hampshire.'[169] After taking the oath of loyalty, Porter and thirty-two of his associates were granted land for which they assumed the responsibility of upkeep and improvement, as well as all expenses associated with the territory. Among the names listed as Porter's associates is Ezekiel Lewis of Marlborough, New Hampshire. About 1793 he settled in the area of Shefford where he built a saw mill, and in 1795 constructed the dam that created Waterloo Lake from what had once been a pond. An early leader in business in the Waterloo area, Lewis went on to serve as a captain in the War of 1812.

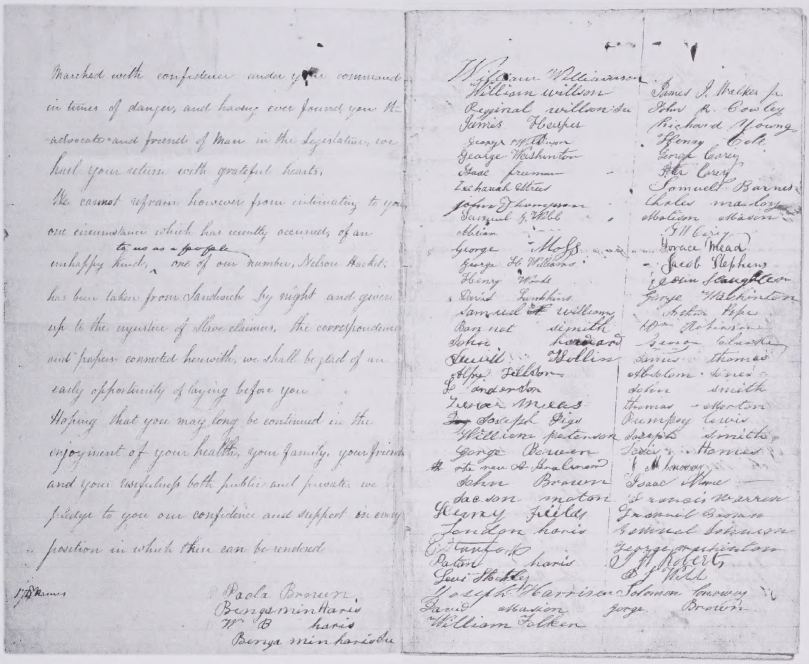
In 1792, another settler, Elias Truax of New York, pioneered in the Lagrange district of the Townships. Many so-called Loyalists had initially fled the United States, not so much because they preferred life under the Crown, but because they feared the new Republic could not provide the stability and order they had always known. Their fears

allayed, many returned to their original homes and it is estimated that about a tenth of the Loyalist populations of Upper Canada and New Brunswick made the trek back across the border.[170] In his nineties, Truax returned to the United States to live with his son who had moved to Vermont, a detail that bears witness to the porous character of the boundary at the turn of the nineteenth century. [171]

72 'Address of the Colored [sic] People of Hamilton to Sir Allan Napier MacNab.' [Hamilton, Canada West, 1842].

The first recorded African slave arrived in Canada in 1628, brought to Québec from Madagascar by David Kirk, the man who had recently conquered the colony for the British. As in the American colonies, slavery was legal in New France, and the practice continued to be protected by the Articles of Capitulation of 1759. Since French Canadians were reluctant to work for their new English masters, Black slaves were often acquired from the American colonies, as the British Governor James Murray indicates in a 1763 letter to New York.[172] With the offer of freedom and land ringing in their ears, many members of the Black community in the Thirteen Colonies pledged their allegiance to the Loyalist cause and came to British North America, only to discover that the promises made to them had generally been hollow.[173] White Loyalists who escaped north of the border were allowed to keep their slaves, and the 1790 'Act for Encouraging New Settlers in His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America' saw still more brought to Québec and Nova Scotia. When Upper and Lower Canada were separated in 1791, there were still several hundred slaves captive in the western province. The first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe (1752–1806), despised slavery and introduced a bill on 31 May 1793, which became law on 3 July, placing restrictions on existing slave-holders, and abolishing the further importation of slaves. Thus Upper Canada became the first place in the British Empire to provide for the gradual abolition of the practice. Although the new law was met with some resistance, slavery disappeared from the colony with time. [174]

The War of 1812 once again fired the imaginations of Blacks living in the slave states. Some who had fought in the American army against the British in Upper Canada returned to their plantations with stories of Blacks living in freedom north of the border. Once the 'Slave Abolition Act' was passed by the British Parliament in 1833,



British North America became even more attractive, and the 'Underground Railroad' transported many former slaves to their new homes in Upper Canada. It is estimated that some forty thousand Blacks resided in the province of Canada West alone on the eve of the American Civil War.[175]

This petition preserves the autographs or marks of 178 Black men living in the Hamilton area of Canada West. The first Blacks had come to the region after the American Revolution. They subsequently organized Black militias to defend the Crown during the Rebellion of 1837,[176] and census returns indicate that by 1861, their numbers had swelled to 461.[177] The petitioners here request the intervention of Sir Allan MacNab to secure the release of one of their number, Nelson Hackett, who 'has been taken from Sandwich by night and given up to the injustice of slave claimers.' Hackett had escaped from slavery in Arkansas in the summer of 1841, taking with him his master's horse, saddle, coat, and gold watch. His former owner gave chase and Hackett was arrested in Chatham and subsequently imprisoned in Sandwich near Windsor while he awaited extradition back the United States. Hackett begged to remain in Canada since, it was argued, upon returning to Arkansas he would be 'tortured in a

manner that to hang him at once would be mercy.' In January of 1842 the newly arrived Governor General of Canada, Sir Charles Bagot (1781–1843) quietly approved the extradition, creating a firestorm among abolitionists in Canada and Britain who insisted that his action was 'in defiance of the Canadian custom of refusing to surrender fugitive slaves.' Hackett was returned to Arkansas where he was repeatedly whipped and his last appearance in history is the record of his sale to a settler in Texas.[178]

The autograph heading the list is that of Paola Brown (ca. 1807-ca. 1852), the town crier of Hamilton, who had been helping to settle Black fugitives in the Niagara peninsula since the 1820s. (This was in fact the second petition Brown had organized, the first being for another escaped slave, Jesse Happy, in 1837.)[179] Other signatories to the petition include James Harper, one of the first circuit ministers assigned to the London and Western District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and George Washington, among the first to challenge the exclusion of Black children from the province's public schools.[180] Clearly, even after achieving their freedom, the lot of Black pioneers in British North America was hardly a happy one. They were viewed with suspicion from Nova Scotia to Upper Canada, with the *Sherbrooke Gazette* reporting in 1861 that 'there is no disguising the fact that they are not a desirable population.'[181] But, as the freed slave William Grose of St Catharines declared in 1859: 'I served twenty-five years in slavery and about five I have been free. When in the United States, if a white man spoke to me, I would feel frightened, whether I were in the right or wrong; but now it is quite a different thing; if a white man speaks to me, I can look him right in the eyes – if he were to insult me I could give him an answer. I have the rights and privileges of any other man. I am now living with my wife and children, and doing very well.'[182] As late as 12 August 1911, however, the Canadian government passed an Order-in-Council banning any immigrant 'belonging to the Negro race, which is deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada.' The regulation, however, was never officially inscribed in the Immigration Act.[183]

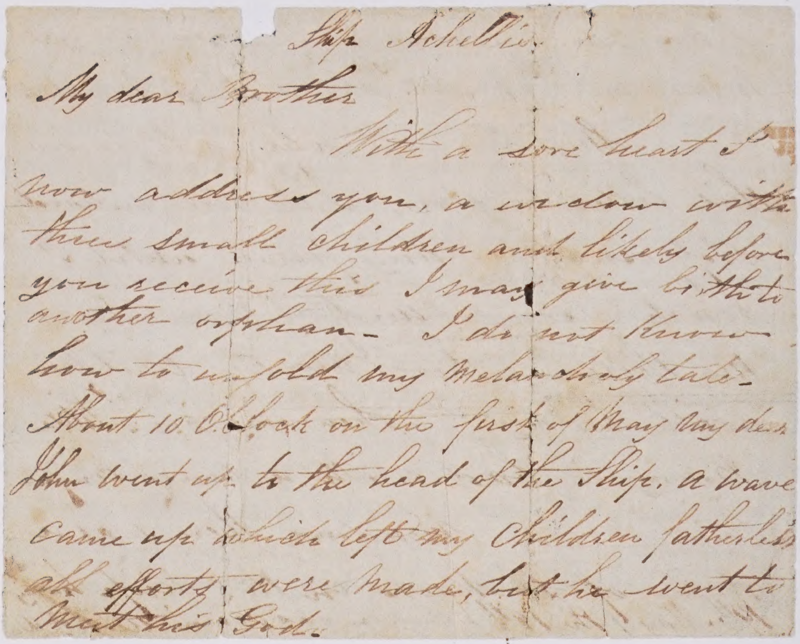
73 Mary Conlon. Letter to her Brother written on Board the Ship *Achilles* en route to Canada. [At sea: 1847].

While Irish immigration to British North America steadily increased in the early decades of the nineteenth century, nothing prepared the region for the influx that

occurred between 1845 and 1851. In those years, the potato blight that swept Ireland wreaked havoc unparalleled in the history of the British Isles and caused one of the greatest immigration crises ever known in the territory that would become Canada. Over the course of those six years, about one million Irish immigrated to the New World, many of them dying in the holds of the so-called 'coffin ships' or in the squalid compounds established to process them on Canadian and American shores. The famine ought not to have occurred in a country as fertile as Ireland, but poor land management had ensured disaster. For two centuries before the 'Great Hunger', the lands of the native Irish had been systematically taken and turned into military plantations, with the original owners reduced to the status of tenants. Subsistence farming combined with over-population and over-dependence on a single crop, leading to catastrophe when 800,000 hectares of potatoes failed in 1845.[184] New Brunswick and the Canadas were particularly overwhelmed by the arrival of the ships that carried thousands of destitute and diseased immigrants, for whom adequate provision was all but impossible.

The desperation of these new settlers is captured in this letter in which the author describes her husband's drowning after being swept overboard, and her anxiety surrounding the raising of fatherless children in a strange land. The Conlon (or Conland) family of Armagh, consisting of a pregnant Mary and her husband John, several young children, and Mary's sister Nancy Hughes, had survived the initial years of the famine before immigrating to the New World. The *Achilles* had left Liverpool with 413 passengers on 9 April 1847 and arrived six weeks later at Grosse Île in the St Lawrence River, in the midst of a cholera epidemic. Mary gave birth in the quarantine station and then succumbed to the disease together with all but one of her children, her youngest daughter Margaret. It is likely that this is the Margaret who appears on 13 July 1847 in the 'Returns of Emigrant Orphans' described as being 'delicate'.[185] The young girl was eventually sent on to Toronto and married Hiram DeWitt in Haldimand County in 1868. Their descendants are today spread across the country.

The Conlon family's final goal had been Toronto. Between May and October of 1847 more than thirty-thousand famine refugees, evicted from their Irish farms, disembarked at Toronto, whose population at the time was only twenty thousand people.[186] While the majority of Irish who arrived in the city eventually made their way to other parts of the colony or the United States, the tragedy still left its mark on the population. What had been a solidly Protestant town in 1845 was twenty-five per cent Irish Catholic

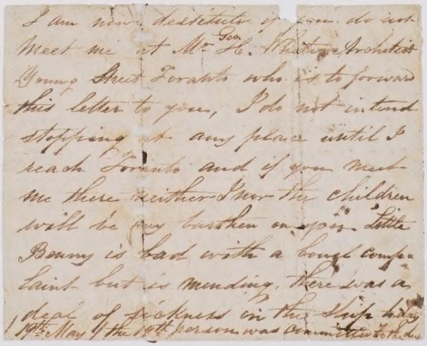


Ship Achilles

My dear Brother

With a sore heart I
now address you, a widow with
three small children and likely before
you receive this I may give birth to
another orphan. I do not know
how to unfold my Melancholy tale.
About 10 O'Clock on the first of May my dear
John went up to the head of the Ship, a wave
Came up which left my Children fatherless
all efforts were made, but he went to
Meet his God.

by 1851.[187] This statistical change was not welcomed by many of Toronto's patrician class who tried to marginalize the immigrants. George Brown, editor of *The Globe* observed that 'Irish beggars are to be met everywhere, and they are as ignorant and vicious as they are poor. They are lazy, improvident and unthankful; they fill our poorhouses and our prisons, and are as brutish in their superstition as Hindoos.'[188] Nevertheless, the Irish immigrants of the famine era were among the first to challenge the exclusively British concept of Anglo-Canadian society.



I am now destitute if you do not
meet me at Mr Geo. H. Whitney Architect
Young Street Toronto who is to forward
this letter to you, I do not intend
stopping at any place until I
reach Toronto and if you meet
me there neither I nor the children
will be any burthen on you. Little
Benny is bad with a bowel comp-
laint but is mending. there was a
deal of sickness in the Ship today
19th May & the 19th person was committed to the d[illegible]

74 Thomas McGrath (d. 1872). Report of the Medical Assistant at Grosse Île, Québec. Grosse Île, 10 Sep. 1849.

Having survived the crossing from Britain or Ireland, many of the refugees subsequently fell victim to illnesses bred in the deplorable conditions found on their boats, especially typhoid and cholera. The Grosse Île station, eighty kilometres downriver from Québec City, had been established to assess and quarantine sick immigrants, and operated from 1832 to 1937. During the Irish famine the resources of the station were stretched to their limits, with the year 1847 representing the high water mark in the unfolding of human misery there. In 1846 there had been sixty-nine burials on the island; the following year there were 5,424. The situation became so dire that Joseph Signay (1778–1850), Archbishop of Québec, wrote to the Bishops of Ireland, asking them to counsel the faithful not to embark for British North America. 'The voice of religion and humanity imposes on me the sacred and imperative duty of exposing ...the dismal fate that awaits thousands of the unfortunate children of Ireland who come to seek in Canada an asylum from the countless evils afflicting them in their native land. Already a considerable number of vessels overloaded with emigrants from Ireland have arrived in the waters of the St. Lawrence. During the passage many of them weakened beforehand by misery and starvation, have contracted fatal diseases, and for the greater part have thus become victims of an untimely death.'[189]

Signay's appeal may have had some effect since the total number of persons passing through the Port of Québec dropped the following year from 90,150 to 27, 939, but increased again in 1849 to 39,494.[190] In this holograph letter, medical assistant Thomas McGrath provides details of the beginning of a cholera epidemic that would rage through Québec City in 1849. According to his account, it began with a twelve-year old passenger on board the *Sir Charles Napier* which had arrived from Dublin on 19 August. By the 25th of the same month, fifty-seven persons housed in the sheds on Grosse Île had died from the disease, fifty-three of them passengers from another ship, the *Circassian*. The disease quickly made its presence felt in the city itself and beyond.

As with Upper Canada, Lower Canada experienced a dramatic change in its demographics because of the famine immigrants. Between 1821 and 1851, Québec City saw its Irish population increase eight hundred fold, while by the 1860s the Irish Catholic population in Montréal had burgeoned to over twenty per cent of the total, outnum-

bering the Protestant English, Irish, and Scottish communities combined.[191] Contributors to *The Globe* viewed this situation with alarm, describing it as 'a great calamity, dangerous to our civil and religious liberty, a calamity which every true patriot, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, should endeavour, by all means in his power, to avert.'[192] This Nativism, which had already been seen with regards to Black citizens, would survive into post-Confederation Canada and eventually be directed towards Chinese, Japanese, Ukrainian, and Mennonite settlers, especially on Canada's western frontier.

75 Canada. Parliament (5th, 3rd Session : 1885) House of Commons. 'Chinese Immigration.' *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada.* Ottawa: Printed by Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885.

Although the first recorded Chinese labourers in what would become British Columbia appear in the late eighteenth century, it was not until the 1870s that one can speak of any significant Chinese immigration. Between 1876 and 1880 about five hundred new settlers arrived annually on Canada's west coast from China, and by 1881, they numbered about 4,350 people in total, an increase of only thirteen hundred over the previous decade. These numbers grew dramatically during the 1880s in conjunction with the demand for workers on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Anti-Chinese sentiment, however, began to manifest itself shortly after the arrival of the earliest migrants. In 1872, it was first suggested that a poll tax be imposed on new Chinese settlers to curb immigration. When this measure failed, the Provincial Legislature of British Columbia instead passed a law denying Chinese settlers the vote.[193] Not satisfied with this measure, in 1876 the Legislature then petitioned the federal government to restrict Chinese immigration, something which Ottawa declined to do. In retaliation, the British Columbia government passed the 'Chinese Tax Act' of 1878 which imposed an annual levy of $40 on every Chinese person over the age of thirteen. The Supreme Court of the province declared the new tax unconstitutional since it was actually directed at curbing immigration, which was a federal and not a provincial matter. Between 1881 and 1884, some 15,700 Chinese moved to British Columbia, precipitating another wave of anti-Chinese demonstrations among the white pioneers.[194] The situation was exacerbated by stagnation in the local mining industry, which caused competition between

the white and Chinese communities for increasingly scarce jobs. British Columbia subsequently experienced a recession in 1883 and 1884, and the province again demanded that Ottawa curtail the influx of Chinese workers. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald realized, however, that their presence was necessary if they were to complete the railroad linking the province to the rest of the nation in a timely manner, and declined involvement.[195]

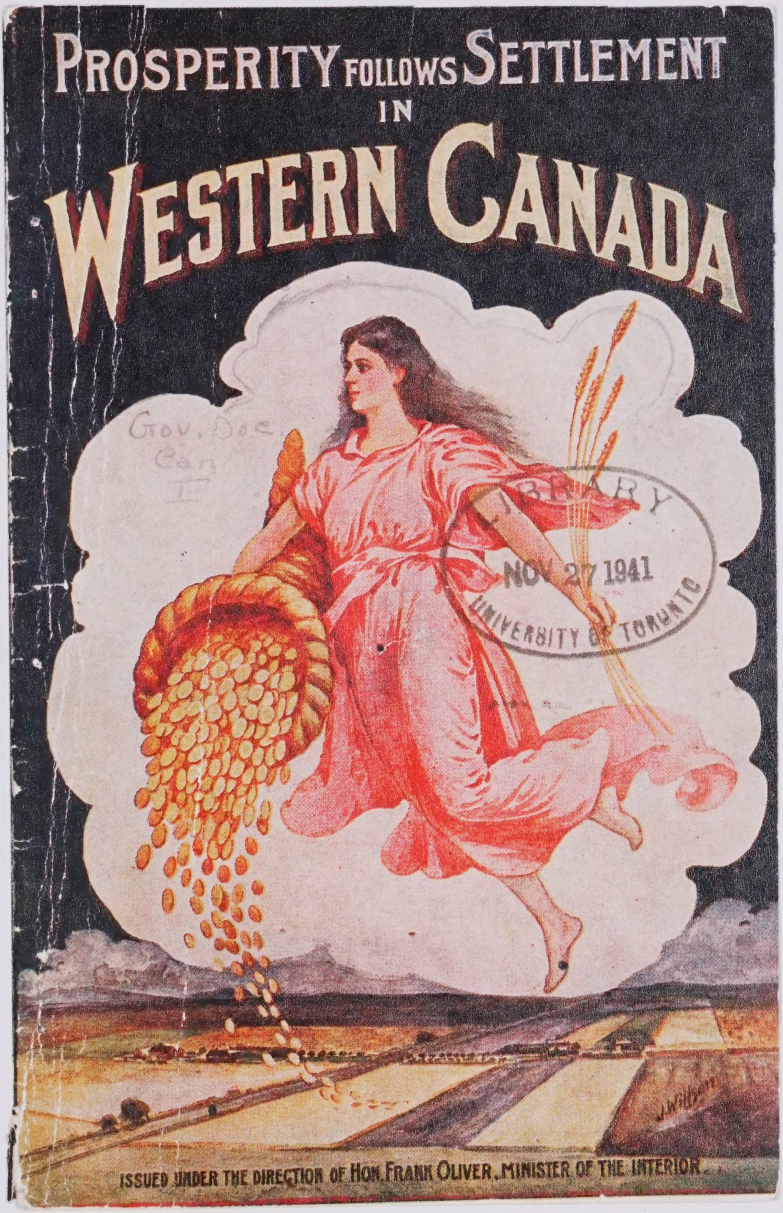
Macdonald nevertheless did agree to appoint a Crown Commission which concluded that, while Chinese labour was necessary for the national rail project, as a people they were deemed unassimilable, and it was recommended that their immigration be strictly regulated. The transcript of the Parliamentary debates leading up to the passage of the 'Chinese Immigration Act' of 1885 is here displayed. According to its terms, the federal government allowed the immigration of one Chinese national for every fifty tons of a ship's burthen, and imposed a fifty dollar poll tax on every Chinese adult resident. The immediate effect was a reduction in Chinese immigration from about three thousand persons a year in 1885 to only seven hundred in total between 1886 and 1889. Re-migration to China also became a new reality. Of the twenty-five thousand Chinese living in British Columbia during the 1880s, fewer than nine thousand would remain by 1891.[196] Other restrictive immigration acts would be passed against Asian immigration in 1903, 1907, and 1923. This last act was finally repealed by Parliament in 1947 in recognition of the contribution to the war effort by the Chinese-Canadian community.[197]

76 Government of Canada, Department of the Interior. *Prosperity follows Settlement in Western Canada.* Ottawa: Government Printing, 1905.

On 15 July 1870, Manitoba joined Confederation (with the Northwest Territories simultaneously annexed), followed the next year by British Columbia. The Yukon was added to the Dominion's roll in 1898, with Saskatchewan and Alberta filling in the broad expanse of the Prairies in 1905, the year in which this immigration pamphlet was published. While pioneers from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada's eastern provinces had begun moving west in the mid-nineteenth century, large swathes of the fertile region still remained unsettled. To drive this point home, the Canadian Department of the Interior noted that, although the region boasted

171,000,000 acres of wheat-growing land, only 5,000,000 were actually cultivated at the time. 'The reader will draw his own conclusion from the above. There is plenty of room for farmers in Western Canada.' Overlooked is the fact that much of this land was not unoccupied at all, but was the ancestral home of various First Nations. The pamphlet is essentially a compilation of testimonials from American, Australian, Austrian, German, Norwegian, Russian, and Ukrainian farmers who had successfully made the Prairies home. Clifford Sifton (1861–1929), the minister responsible for the immigration portfolio at the beginning of the twentieth century, incurred the wrath of those who had wanted to protect British interests in Canada by actively courting such settlers from Central and Eastern Europe, especially those whose families had been farming for generations; urban industrial workers from those countries, however, were at the same time actively discouraged, as were citizens from the southern Mediterranean.[198]

The front cover of this pamphlet is intentionally enticing with mythological motifs and the promise of a golden land overflowing with abundance – fields already cleared of trees, laid out in neat rectangles, await only the farmer's hoe. Accompanying photographs show neat brick homes with bumper crops of wheat around them, all taken at the height of summer, while the back cover offers readers free land. According to the *Dominion Lands Act* of 1872, 160 acres were available to any settler over the age of twenty-one who could pay the ten-dollar registration fee, would live on the land for three years, cultivate thirty acres of it, and build a permanent dwelling. Between 1901 and 1914, it is estimated that about a million immigrants succumbed to such inducements, many reaching Canada through the United States, with most bound for Canada's West. Of these, a third were Germans, Icelanders, Hungarians, and Scandinavians.[199] Frank Oliver (1853–1933), Sifton's immediate successor, and the authority behind the pamphlet's publication, became more restrictive in his immigration policy, and openly questioned the ability of 'foreigners' to assimilate into the Canadian identity. Antipathy towards immigrants who had come to Canada's West from the Continent reached its apogee during the First World War.


PROSPERITY FOLLOWS SETTLEMENT
IN
WESTERN CANADA
Gov. Doc
Can
I
LIBRARY
NOV 27 1941
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
ISSUED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HON. FRANK OLIVER, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

The Japanese Methodist Mission was established in Vancouver in 1896. The congregation's first building was constructed in 1907 or 1908 at the corner of Jackson and Powell Streets.

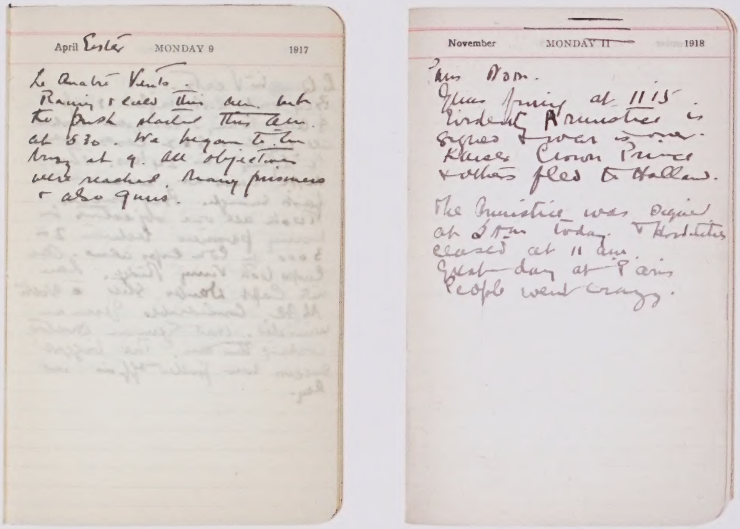
Stanford's Geographical Establishment. *Stanford's general map of the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland.* London: Edward Stanford, 1898.

Stanford's Geographical Establishment. *Stanford's general map of the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland.* London: Edward Stanford, 1898.

Part VIII. The Struggle for Identity

The ties that bound the nation to Britain, its Crown, and Parliament remained a reality of life well into the twentieth century. In 1914, Canada and Newfoundland, which were separate Dominions at the time, entered the First World War simultaneously with the United Kingdom, since the foreign affairs of the former colonies were still controlled by the Parliament of Westminster. Both became legislatively independent of the British Parliament with the passage of the Statute of Westminster on 11 December 1931, although for economic reasons, Newfoundland surrendered its sovereignty in 1933. Newfoundland would ultimately join Confederation in 1949. A national identity, however, cannot be as easily legislated. For Canadians, it would slowly emerge after the 'War to end all wars', one indicator of this being the fact that, when the winds of war blew again in 1939, Canada waited a full week before making its own declaration of war, independent of Westminster. The social upheavals that occurred during and after these two conflicts forced Canadians into shaping an identity that was specifically their own. The social safety net, for example, that began to be pieced together over the course of the Great War has continued to evolve ever since, and would become one of the hallmarks of a budding national identity. Until 1977, however, Canadian passports still announced that the bearer was a British subject, while the presence of increasing numbers of immigrants from all around the globe literally began to change the national complexion, especially as the country moved towards its one hundredth birthday in 1967. Nevertheless, many Canadians still tended to define themselves by what they were not, while the omnipresent hyphen – French-Canadian, English-Canadian, Jamaican-Canadian, Ukrainian-Canadian *et cetera* – has not entirely disappeared from the cultural landscape. In recent decades, Canadians came to see their strength in a multicultural heritage, a feature that was proudly on display when the country hosted the world at Expo 67. The documents in this final section of the exhibition, therefore, highlight the ways in which a distinct Canadian identity began to manifest itself throughout the troubled twentieth century. The exuberance and confidence of Canada's centennial celebrations and Expo 67 would shortly be put to the test by the FLQ crisis of 1970 and the real possibility of a Canada without Québec.

In 1971, Peter Gzowski hosted a contest on his CBC radio programme, *This Country in the Morning*, in which participants were asked to suggest a Canadian equivalent to 'As American as apple pie'. All the expected responses – 'buttertarts', 'maple syrup', 'the Northern Lights' – were offered, but the award went to E. Heather Scott for her simple but fitting aphorism: 'As Canadian as possible, under the circumstances.'[200] The struggle for identity continues.



77 Ronald Hugh Macdonald (1885–1949). World War I Diaries, 1916–1919.

Ronald H. Macdonald was born in North Bedeque, Prince Edward Island, and in 1908 graduated from the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University. When the First World War began in August of 1914 he was practising as a doctor and surgeon, but quickly enlisted with the Canadian Army Medical Corps, entering with a rank of captain.[201] In the summer of 1917 he was awarded the Military Cross for bravery, his citation reading:

> For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. One of our aeroplanes was shot down, the observer was wounded and pinned beneath the wreck. The officer and a bearer went out in full view of the enemy, who were shelling the machine, and extricated the wounded man and removed him to safety. He himself was wounded while doing so.

Macdonald was also twice mentioned in dispatches, and by the end of the War, was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. With the cessation of hostilities, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Order in recognition of his unfailing bravery. Upon his return to Canada, he settled in Saskatoon where he became a specialist in general surgery.

Macdonald's journals are often sketchy in detail, although he is able to communicate the horrors he witnessed using a remarkable economy of words. He was present at the Battle of Vimy Ridge from 9 to 12 April 1917, simply recording in his diary 'the biggest success pulled off in one day.' That victory was, however, achieved at a great cost: 3,598 Canadians were killed and another 7,000 were wounded. Nevertheless, the Battle represents the first time that all four Canadian divisions, composed of soldiers from Atlantic to Pacific, fought together, prompting Brigadier-General A.E. Ross (who was also a physician) to remark afterwards that 'in those few minutes I witnessed the birth of a nation.' Four years after the conclusion of the War, the French government made a permanent gift of Vimy Ridge to the people of Canada, in token of its appreciation for the thousands sacrificed and scarred there. The haunting memorial erected on the site was officially opened in 1936, three years before Canadians returned to Europe after the outbreak of a second world war.

78 Harold Adams Innis (1894–1952). Notepad, 1917.

During the last summer before his final undergraduate year at McMaster University in Toronto (as it then was), Harold Innis, a native of Otterville, Ontario worked on a frontier farm near Vermillion, Alberta. It was there that he came to appreciate the vastness of his country, as well as the grievances of those who lived far from its industrial and economic centres. On 17 May 1916, just after his graduation, Innis enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force as a signaller with the 69th Battery of the Canadian Field Artillery, arriving in France in the fall of the same year.[202] During the course of his tour of duty, he saw action at Bully Grenay, and participated in the preparations for the assault on Vimy Ridge. On 7 July 1917, while on nightly patrol, Innis received a shrapnel wound in his right thigh that effectively brought his military career to an end. He would likely have died, had it not been for the fact that the thick notepad, here displayed, carried in his trousers' pockets, had absorbed the shock of the bullet.[203] Innis returned to Canada and completed a master's degree at McMaster in April of 1918, followed by a doctorate in

economic history at the University of Chicago. The subject of his dissertation was the economic impact of the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, no doubt influenced by his experience as a summer student on the Prairies some years before. Innis became one of the nation's greatest philosophers of the national identity, positing that Canadian culture, history, and economy, beginning with the Indigenous Peoples, were inextricably linked to the natural resources produced by the country's land and seas. 'The present Dominion', he wrote, 'emerged not in spite of geography but because of it.'[204] In 1920, Innis joined the faculty of the University of Toronto, becoming head of the Department of Political Economy sixteen years later. His strongly nationalistic views influenced a subsequent generation of Canadian intellectuals including Marshall McLuhan, Donald Creighton, and Mel Watkins.

79 Memorial Plaque in Honour of Gerald Edward Blake.

Known in some circles as 'the King's Penny' or 'the Dead Man's Penny' owing to its similarity in style to the smaller one-penny piece, these bronze memorial plaques were issued to the next-of-kin of those who perished in the Great War. Designed by the sculptor Edward Carter Preston (1885–1965), production on them began in 1919 at a factory in Acton, England. Each plaque displays the striding figures of a lion and Britannia, who holds a laurel wreath over a rectangular space in which the name of the deceased appeared in raised letters. A commemorative scroll accompanied the plaque, together with a printed note of sympathy from King George V.[205] The plaque on display remembers Gerald Edward Blake (1892–1916), a graduate of the University of Toronto, who was studying law at Osgoode Hall at the outbreak of the hostilities. He was killed during the Battle of the Somme and was buried in Mash Valley, France. His name appears as 'Jerrold' on his plaque.

It is estimated that 619,636 Canadians enlisted during the First World War, with some 424,000 serving overseas. Approximately 2,818 were interned as German prisoners of war, while another 59,544 perished during the conflict itself, 51,748 of them as a result of enemy action.[206] Such numbers mask the effect the War had on the Canadian home front, as a whole generation of young men was lost in some rural localities, with many returning veterans so debilitated that they placed a lasting strain on the families and communities that supported them in the aftermath.

80 York Veterans' Social Welfare Club. Statements made by the Widows of Veterans of the First World War seeking Pensions and Pension Adjustments. Toronto, 1941.

Although the term 'post-traumatic stress disorder' did not enter the psychological vocabulary until 1980, the phenomenon of 'shell shock' was certainly evident enough in a great swathe of veterans who returned from the killing fields of France after the signing of the armistice on 11 November 1918. The transition to civilian life was a trial for thousands, many of whom proved incapable of maintaining permanent employment owing to the debilities they now experienced. They did not suffer alone. Family life deteriorated dramatically in many cases as well. This situation was only exacerbated as husbands died without pensions, forcing wives and children from coast to coast into lives of destitution. Welfare agencies emerged to assist those who had nowhere else to turn. This collection of their testimonies, recorded by Edith M. Pickin, secretary of the York Veteran's Social Welfare Club, was submitted to John R. MacNicol (1878–1950), Member of Parliament for the Toronto riding of Davenport, on 12 February 1941. As Pickin explains in her preface, 'we respectfully submit to you our humble representations, and pray that you will use your good offices on behalf of all those who are suffering privation, semi-starvation, and continued degeneration as their reward for the service rendered by their husbands in defence of Canada and all that our Constitution stands for.' Affidavit after affidavit details the lives of misery led by these women after their husbands' return from Europe, as well as their grievances against a country that seemed to have forgotten their service over the intervening twenty years of peace that had included the worst economic depression the world had ever known.

Many facets of an interventionist welfare state began to emerge in the wake of the tragedy that was the Great War. They initially were intended to meet the needs of injured

soldiers and their families, but eventually the patchwork quilt of provincial pension schemes started to give way to national programmes available to all. In addition, housing projects were established, especially between the years 1919 and 1924, to accommodate veterans and their households. It would take several more generations before a truly national safety net would be in place that would help to ensure the minimal health and welfare needs of all Canadians. Once it was achieved in the latter part of the twentieth century, however, it would become one of the defining features of the Canadian identity.

81 Canadian Labor Defense League. *"Sedition": The Bosses' Weapon to stifle Protest against Hunger, Exploitation, and War!* [Toronto, 1932?].

In the years between the wars, Canadian advocates of socialism ranged from religious 'Social Gospellers' to the secular Marxists of the Communist Party of Canada. One figure who combined both philosophies in his own person was the Methodist (and subsequently Independent) minister, Albert E. Smith (1871–1947). Smith was unorthodox by religious standards, writing in his biography that 'in my sermons no miracle was required to explain the birth of Jesus or his life and teachings. His name was to be cherished because He died as a leader of the people, for His principles and in protest against the unjust rulers of His day.'[207] It was this emphasis on the Social Gospel that led to Smith's belief that Jesus was himself a Communist. Smith formally joined the Party in 1925, and was instrumental in organizing the Canadian Labor Defense League, which was affiliated with the International Red Aid, an arm of the Communist International. By 1931, the year before this pamphlet was published, the League had grown to 137 branches across the country, with an estimated membership of fifteen thousand, of which 4,500 were trade unionists and a further three thousand from the National Unemployed Workers Association.[208] Its formation was but one indication of the desperation experienced by ordinary workers from Atlantic to Pacific. In this pamphlet, the League takes specific aim at the 'Starvation' Government of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett (1870–1947) and its attempts to stifle protest under the guise of seditious activity. The League, as well as the Communist Party of Canada, were formally banned in 1940 under the 'Defence of Canada Regulations', and although the CPC survived under different names, the League did not.[209] Its demands for the more equitable treatment of workers in this country, however, were taken up by other leftist organizations.

82 Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. *The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Farmer, Labor, Socialist): An Outline of its Origins, Organization and Objectives, together with a Statement of Principles and News of its Development.* [Calgary: Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 1932?].

This pamphlet was intended to set forth the guiding principles of the newly-established Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and introduce it to Canadians in a formal way. Its programme was provisionally adopted by the Calgary Conference in August of 1932, pending its formal ratification at the organization's annual convention held the following year in Regina. The movement was an aggregate of pre-existing socialist, agrarian, and labour groups, principally based in the western provinces, and initially directed against the excesses of capitalism. 'The death-knell of the profit system is being rung', the pamphlet declared in its 'Call to Action'. 'Individualism in the field of economics is a spent force.' The party's first leader was J.S. Woodsworth (1874–1942) who had embraced social activism while still a minister of the Methodist Church in Canada. In protest of the church's support for national involvement in the First World War, Woodsworth resigned his membership in the denomination in 1918. The CCF played a major role in launching the New Democratic Party in 1961, and although it struggled to challenge a party system traditionally dominated by Liberals and Conservatives, it often played the role of 'conscience of the nation'. From universal socialized medicine to pension indexing to minimum wage guarantees, the CCF became associated in the popular imagination with its advocacy of bold, new ideas, many of which slowly became part of accepted public policy over the decades of the twentieth century. For some these positions went too far, for others, not far enough, but they were ideas that helped to shape the national identity and consciousness. The dreams of the early socialists who formed the CCF have never been fully realized, but Woodsworth's ideal remained in the background. 'I am convinced', he wrote, 'that we may develop in Canada a distinctive type of Socialism. I refuse to follow slavishly the British model or the American model or the Russian model. We in Canada will solve our problems along our own lines.'[210]

83 Alice Harriet Parsons. 'Slums over Canada', *Canadian Home Journal*. April, 1935.

At first glance, the *Canadian Home Journal* seems an unlikely voice to speak on behalf of Canada's poor, but it gained access to households where political organizations like the Canadian Labor Defense League or the CCF would have been barred. In the majority of middle class homes (or those that aspired to be) during the Depression, magazines like this one occasionally introduced the subject of social justice, tucked in amongst the short stories and fashion tips common to the populist publications of the period. While the *Canadian Home Journal* and its competitor *Chatelaine* were generally purchased for their fiction (especially in an era before cheap paperbacks had become readily available), even the homegrown pulp literature of the period was dedicated to fostering a distinctly Canadian identity during difficult economic times. The 'news' articles published alongside the stories combined to emphasize an interconnected, if imaginary, national community that could not be mistaken for its American neighbour to the south.[211] The sense of idealistic pride the magazines sought to instill through literature was occasionally balanced by articles, like this one about Canada's slums, published in the very month that the 'On to Ottawa Trek' began in British Columbia. The Trek's ultimate goal was unrealized, but it still did much to discredit the government of R.B. Bennett and forced ordinary Canadians to take more seriously the social and welfare demands of the unemployed, among whom were thousands of First World War veterans.

Alice Harriet Parsons was the daughter of University of Toronto professor, Arthur Leonard Parsons. She began her career as a journalist with the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* before returning to Canada. In the June issue of the *CHJ*, Parsons wrote a follow-up article to this one entitled 'New Houses for Old' in which she posed the question, 'can Canada afford a National Housing Plan? Can Canada afford not to have one?' She concluded by observing 'that the most important thing is Life itself – and if, by metamorphosing our slums into good housing, we can lift lives from misery and despair, and can give children a chance to grow up in healthier, happier surroundings, we shall have dreamed our dreams well in Canada.' Her editorial pieces were as close to hard news as the *CHJ* ever came, and at the very least introduced families that had little or nothing to a large segment of the female population

of this nation, who were tacitly acknowledged as the principal household consumers.

First World War Canadian propaganda poster.

Second World War Canadian propaganda poster.

Symbols of an Evolving Identity

84 First and Second World War Posters

In many ways, Canada came of age as a nation through its participation in, and the after-effects of, the two great wars of the twentieth century. In spite of the fact that some sixty thousand soldiers died in the First War, a million more still volunteered for the Second, together with fifty thousand nurses, not to mention thousands of merchant seamen. War posters quickly became an easily identifiable part of the military effort. At the outbreak of the Great War, posters were only beginning to be used for general advertising in Canada, in contrast to Europe where they had been extensively employed for several decades. As a result, the images used to promote the war effort in Canada during the First War were often naïve, frequently copied from posters used by the nation's allies, and not subject to regular control by the Government. By the outbreak of the Second War, however, posters had become a standard part of commercial life, and Parliament was directly involved in managing their propaganda effect. In neither war, however, was that message particularly subtle. Propaganda posters in French Canada posed a particular challenge, since they were intended to persuade a great many in Québec of the justice of a cause that seemed essentially foreign in character, especially those placards that prominently displayed the Union Jack, for example. It may have been for this reason that, during the Second World War, native symbols like the beaver, the national map, and the maple leaf, were more frequently adopted. The two wars, conscription, and loyalty to Britain, laid bare some of the fault lines between French and English that would manifest themselves fully during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, and would ultimately threaten to destroy national unity itself. From an artistic point of view, however, many of these posters are now recognized as important examples of a highpoint in chromolithographic art in this country.

85 Passport

The Canadian passport is one of the most desirable of travel documents, known the world over for its ability to open international doors relatively easily. It has evolved over the last century and a half, both because of the nation's historic ties to Britain, as well as its proximity to the United States. Until 1862, Canadians were able to cross the border into the United States without a passport because they were British subjects. As the American Civil War reached its height, however, and the sympathies of Great Britain became suspect, proper travel documentation became a requirement. The Governor General of Canada began issuing a signed 'letter of request' which effectively served as the Canadian passport for the next fifty years. Any Canadian wishing to travel to Europe was required to obtain a British passport through the Foreign Office in London. In 1915, the Canadian Government switched from using a single-sheet passport to a ten-section, single sheet folder, printed in English only. In 1921, the familiar booklet-style that is still in use was inaugurated, with a bilingual format introduced five years later. It was only in 1977 that the text of the passport was altered from 'A Canadian citizen is a British subject' to simply 'the bearer of this passport is a Canadian citizen'.

Displayed is a selection of passports that document the transition in Canadian travel documents as well as the Canadian identity. They belonged to some of the public figures whose papers are maintained by the Fisher Library. Dr Frederick Banting (1891–1941) of Alliston, Ontario, was one of the co-discoverers of insulin, and his dates from 1933. The journalist Mark Gayn (1902–1981) was born near the Manchurian-Mongolian border. After many years working in the United States and Europe, he immigrated to Canada in 1953, and became a Canadian citizen. His passport dates from 1977, just before the wording of the passport was changed, omitting the description of Canadians as 'British subjects'.

86 The Flag

England's Cross of St George, the Royal Flag of France, the Union Jack, and the Red Ensign have all flown over Canadian territory at one time or another since the days of the explorer John Cabot. None of these, however, was ever officially adopted as the flag of Canada, although soldiers in both World Wars certainly fought under the Ensign. Demands for a distinctive Canadian flag began to grow in earnest after the Second World War, and by 1960 the Leader of the Opposition, Lester B. Pearson (1897–1972), was urging the adoption of a national flag that could not be confused with any foreign power. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker (1895–1979) and most English Canadians, including the Royal Canadian Legion, staunchly opposed the idea. When Pearson's government was elected in 1963, the new Prime Minister pursued his goal vigorously. He opened the contentious debate before Parliament on 15 June 1964 with a speech entitled, *A Distinctive Flag which will say to the World and to the Future: I stand for Canada!* His rousing and patriotic plea was published by the Liberal Party and widely disseminated. What followed, however, was one of the bitterest debates in Canadian history. After more than three hundred speeches in the House of Commons, and a certain amount of political subterfuge, the now-familiar flag was finally approved by Act of Parliament on 15 December 1964, and the Royal Proclamation was signed by Queen Elizabeth II on 28 January 1965. The new flag was flown officially for the first time on 15 February of that year. Designed by George Stanley (1907-2002), it was actually inspired by the flag of Kingston's Royal Military College. In preparation for Canada's Centennial celebrations in 1967, the Secretary of State for Canada issued the pamphlet *The National Flag*, explaining the general rules for its display.

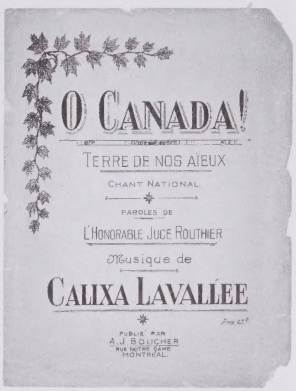
Stan Bevington of Coach House, a long-time Friend of the Fisher and printer of many of its publications, was involved in the so-called 'flag wars' of 1964. In the summer of that year, he silk-screened thousands of the so-called 'Pearson Pennant' (two blue bars on either side of three conjoined red maple leaves), and sold them around Yorkville, making more than enough to enable him to purchase his first printing press.[212]

87 The Anthem

The lyrics to *O Canada* were originally written in French by Sir Adolphe-Basile Routhier (1839–1920) and performed for the first time on 24 June 1880, St-Jean Baptiste Day, set to music written by Calixa Lavallée (1842–1891). At the same time in English Canada, *God save the King* and *The Maple Leaf Forever* vied for the honour of *de facto* national anthem. Several of the English versions of *O Canada* that appeared in the early years of the twentieth century attempted a direct translation from the French. One of these was sung at the Memorial Service held on 15 May 1915 in Westminster Abbey honouring Canadian soldiers who had died at the Second Battle of Ypres, the first major battle in which Canadian troops had been involved, with a staggering loss of two thousand men in less than three days. The words were written by the English lyricist, Helen Taylor, and described as 'the Canadian National Anthem', although they do not remotely resemble those that finally entered into common usage.[213] (Taylor would become more famous for penning the words to the song 'Bless this House', published in 1927.) By the Second World War, some sixteen different English versions of *O Canada* were in circulation.[214]

In 1908, the Montréal judge, Robert Stanley Weir (1856–1926), penned another set of English lyrics to honour the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Québec, that would assume the status of unofficial English national anthem in subsequent years. Published by the Montréal firm Delmar, Weir prefaces his rendition with the caveat that 'this is a humble effort ...not to usurp others more or less in vogue, but to take a place with them in the minstrelsy of our country.' He goes on to observe, however, that 'Mr Lavallée's splendid melody ...has hitherto lacked an English setting in the song style.' Weir's text was modified during the First World War, with the words 'thou dost in us command' altered to read 'in all thy sons command', and thus widely

published in 1927 (the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation), thereby securing its place in history. The English words were adjusted several times again during the twentieth century, as recently as 2016, while the French text has remained unchanged. *O Canada* formally became the country's national anthem on 27 June 1980.[215]

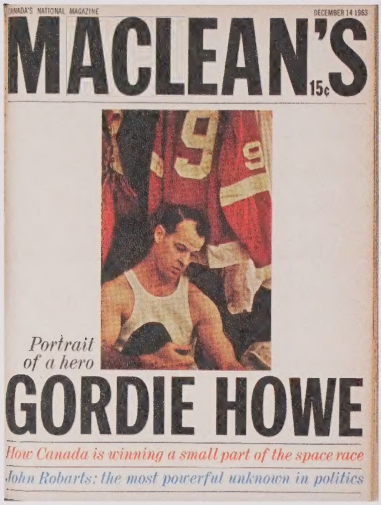


Sheet music of the national anthem is on loan from the Faculty of Music Library, University of Toronto.

88 Hockey

From frozen ponds to outdoor rinks to indoor arenas, hockey has been one of the great unifying forces in this otherwise disparate land. The legends who donned skates in Canada's great national pastime have become icons of the nation itself, and their names are still recalled with a combination of excitement and reverence, even by those with only a passing interest in the sport. Rocket Richard, Jean Belliveau, Gordie Howe, Bobby Orr – just a small sampling of the many who have entertained and inspired thousands of men and women from the days of broadside newspapers to radio to the present. The first ice hockey game played according to formal rules with a puck occurred in Montréal in 1875, with McGill University establishing the first organized team four years later. In 1904 the International Hockey League was established with franchise teams in Pittsburgh, Houghton, Calumet, and Sault Ste Marie, Michigan, as well as Sault Ste Marie, Ontario. Young men were lured to these mostly small communities, principally from eastern Canada, to be paid for doing what they loved. Print journalism initially spread the news about the sport, helping to create a taste for it in these new localities, while reporting back sensational details of the fast-paced games, and concomitant violence, to the major established centres of Montréal, Toronto, and Ottawa.[216] In many ways, early reportage made hockey sound like roller derby on ice:

> Hod, who had been ruled off for the game, got on the ice again and gave Hall a dirty, cowardly blow across the back, knocking him out. Hod needed the protection of the county and village officers [as he was escorted from the ice] or he would have been mobbed for his act.[217]



Such stories enflamed the local communities from which the players had hailed, and only caused more youths to dream of similar glory. By 1917, when the National Hockey League was established, hockey was clearly seen as Canada's game. Subsequent events like the 1972 series between Russia and Canada, or Canada's victory over the United States for both the men's and women's teams in the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, only cemented the place of hockey in the national identity.

The sports sections of every Canadian newspaper, together with *Maclean's* and *The Hockey News*, continued the print tradition established by the early sports reporters, and kept enthusiasts informed. Perhaps a more influential vehicle for developing the loyalty of a new generation of fans, however, was the humble hockey card that first appeared in cigarette packages beginning in 1910. As the twentieth century wore on, they also appeared inside cereal boxes and bubble gum wrappers, and were exchanged for gas purchases. Traded, exchanged, and fought over, they complemented the experience of playing the game itself. As Stephen Leacock observed, 'Hockey captures the essence of Canadian experience in the New World. In a land so inescapably and inhospitably cold, hockey is the chance of life, and an affirmation that despite the deathly chill of winter, we are alive.'

89 A Time to Celebrate - 1967

As University of Toronto Professor Michael Bliss observed, 'All of 1967 was a year to buy books about Canada, see Canadian plays, celebrate being a Canadian'.[218] Numerous guides and pamphlets were published to help Canadians decide what to do, where to travel, and how much to see. While they were ephemeral in character, such publications inadvertently contributed to and accelerated a sense of nationhood, especially among English-speaking Canadians with disposable income. One such brochure was written by the American travel author, James H.Winchester, entitled *Why we're going to*

Canada in 67. Although directed at Americans, it provided a basic constitutional, geographical, and historical overview for Canadians as well, explaining the significance of the Centennial year. Its central double-spread page provided a small sampling of the many ways in which Canadians were marking their one hundredth birthday from coast to coast to coast. A number of annual festivals, such as the Charlottetown Festival and the Toronto Caribana Parade, saw their inauguration as part of the Centennial celebrations and continue to this day. The anniversary also saw a renewed interest in typography with the Canadian Government commissioning Carl Dair to create the new, distinctively Canadian 'Cartier' typeface in which this catalogue is typeset. The most recognizable symbol of the celebrations, however, was the Centennial Logo, designed by Stuart Ash of the Montréal firm, Gottschalk + Ash, in 1966. All Canadians were permitted to use the stylized geometrical maple leaf for the Centennial activities, and it appeared widely on everything from currency to shopping catalogues.

90 Confederation Coins and Currency

The fiftieth anniversary of Confederation passed with little fanfare, owing to the country's ongoing involvement in the First World War. In 1927, the first medal to commemorate an anniversary of Confederation was struck for the nation's Diamond Jubilee. Made of copper, it featured King George V and Queen Mary in profile, with a wreath of maple leaves surrounding the national coat of arms on the obverse side. Then in 1967, the Royal Canadian Mint released a set of circulating coins designed by Alex Colville (1920-2013) in honour of the Centennial. Each coin featured the Queen's head, with the obverse sides depicting the birds, fauna, and aquatic life of the country. The choices were made, not just to symbolize the nation's natural heritage, but to reflect the Canadian values and virtues associated with each animal in literature and legend. Explaining his design for the one dollar coin, Colville wrote that 'the Canada Goose ... is one of our most majestic creatures and is also particularly Canadian. There are other associations with travelling over great spaces, and a kind of serene dynamic quality in this bird'. The wolf on the fifty cent piece was chosen to depict the loneliness of the vast open Canadian space. The bobcat on the quarter was 'expressive of a certain intelligent independence and capacity for formidable action' while the mackerel on the dime was selected as a symbol of continuity. The speedy rabbit on the nickel represented

Canada's fertility and promise, while the rock dove on the penny was associated with spiritual values and peace.[219]

A special one dollar bill was also introduced in 1967 by the Bank of Canada, specifically aimed at collectors, with the years 1867–1967 replacing the standard serial number. Some twelve million of these notes were issued and entered into general circulation, though many were also horded. As a result, they survive in large numbers and in generally excellent condition fifty years later. Besides the uniform serial number, these bills also feature the distinctive centennial logo, and an image of the original Centre Block of Parliament, destroyed by fire in 1916, on the verso. A second issue of the one dollar bill appeared in the same year with the customary numbers.

The Royal Canadian Mint also struck a special commemorative medallion that was given to every Canadian student in June of 1967. It is estimated that some four million of these brass tokens, which featured the arms of Canada on one side and the centennial logo on the other, were distributed freely.

91 The Confederation Train

From 9 January to 5 December 1967 a thirteen-car train covered with the Centennial graphic, complete with engines, cars, and equipment, contributed by both Canadian National and Canadian Pacific, became a travelling exhibition, telling the nation's story as it toured the country from Victoria to Halifax. Given the original role the railway played in tying a vast continent together, it was both a fitting symbol and a poignant reminder of the nation's origins. The train housed life-sized models, sound effects, specialized lighting, numerous artifacts, and photographs, with cars converted into a Native village, the steerage-class cabin of an early sailing ship, a mineshaft, and a First World War trench. It is estimated that about one tenth of the entire population boarded the train over the course of its eighty-three stops, though it was not popular everywhere. At the Jean Talon station in Montréal as well as in Québec City, it drew crowds of protestors who argued that the displays propagated lies about the Acadian Expulsion and French culture in general. For those who lived at a distance from the main rail lines, a similar convoy of trailer-trucks brought the exhibition to the farthest reaches of the nation, with an estimated 7,268,955 visitors.[220] The 'Confederation Train' is one of the forgotten stories of the Centennial year, its memory preserved in this piece of ephemera given to each guest

– an illustrated accordion-style 'aide-de-mémoire' depicting scenes from the country's social, cultural, and political history with bilingual explanatory notes, spanning the period from primeval times to the dance crazes of the 1960s.

92 Expo 67

The Montréal Universal and International Exhibition, as it was formally known, was billed as 'an exhibition of international cooperation and enterprise that can only further better communications among mankind.' Designed and executed before the feminist movement captured the popular imagination, the Fair was called 'Man and His World', and its iconic symbol (designed by the Montréal artist Julien Hébert) represented an idealized and harmonious relationship between humanity and society 'by depicting a chain of human brotherhood around the world.'[221] Expo was held on six hundred acres encompassing the artificial Île Notre Dame, Île Sainte-Hélène, and the Cité du Havre on the St Lawrence River from 27 April to 29 October 1967.

On opening day alone, it was estimated that some 407,500 visitors walked through the gates, armed with passports like the ones on display.[222] Passports were the idea of Philippe de Gaspé Beaubien, Expo's Director of Operations, who hoped that they would help with crowd control. They were effectively multi-use tickets that allowed a certain amount of flexibility when touring the fairgrounds. Passport folders were issued for weekly and full-season visitors, while day visitors received a simpler passport card costing $2.50. A full-season passport, which included a photograph of the bearer, cost $35 for adults, $30 for youths from thirteen to twenty-one, and $17.50 for children.[223] All passports were to be stamped at each location visited, which initially proved to be a sticking point, since this required the hiring of additional staff at each pavilion to do the stamping.[224] By its final day, a grand total of 50,306,648 persons – far more than twice Canada's population at the time – had visited the wildly successful Fair, exposing Canada in general, and Montréal in particular (in its post-Duplessis enthusiasm), to an international audience for whom the hundred-year-old country was still only a vague notion. As the headline in the American magazine *Look* put it, 'What's got into our good gray neighbors?' For Canadians, however, it marked the beginning of a quiet patriotism that had been foreign to the national character to that point. Reflecting on his experiences at Expo, renowned Canadian author Pierre Berton (1920-2004) summarized the sentiments of many. 'I feel captive to an unexpected emotion: a moistness in the eyes and a huskiness in the throat of the kind one usually experiences only in moments of national stress ... It was nationalism unabashed and I discovered later that others had felt it too.'[225]

There were dark clouds on the horizon, however. While the English edition of Canada's national news magazine, *Macleans*, was documenting and celebrating all things related to the Centennial and Expo, the French edition was capturing some of the simmering unrest in mid–1960s Québec. The fault lines between the two cultures had always been evident, and tensions had been exacerbated over the course of the twentieth century by their respective attitudes towards the two World Wars, the conscription crisis, and the economic disparity that persisted between French and English in Québec and elsewhere across the country. The cover of the April 1967 issue was dedicated, for example, not to the imminent opening of Expo, but to the potential for terrorism in Québec, with the feature article entitled *'Les terroristes: des jeunes Québécois ont choisi la violence. Pourquoi?'* That potential became a reality in 1970 with the kidnapping of the British Trade Commissioner, James Cross and the execution of Québec's Deputy Premier and Minister of Labour, Pierre Laporte.

Although Canada's Centennial year still had two months left in it, the close of Expo at the end of October represented the summit of the national celebrations. On that final morning Prime Minister Pearson summarized the nation's feelings when he said that Expo 'has shown that Canada and Canadians, if we work together, can achieve any objective and reach any goal. Expo was such a goal and now it is a glorious page in our history.'[226] That history was elegantly and comprehensively preserved in *Expo 67: The Memorial Album*, published in 1968. The book details the evolution of Man and His World from the beginning of its construction on 30 June 1964 until its closing, as well as something of the permanent legacy the Fair left in its wake. Pierre Depuy, the Ambassador and Commissioner Director of Expo, gave one copy to each national committee and company that had participated.

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